SWCA® ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS
Sound Science. Creative Solutions.®

Making a Place in the Beehive State: A Literature Review and Preliminary Identification of Asian and Pacific Islander Heritage Sites in Utah, 1865–1970

Prepared for

Utah Division of State History

Prepared by

SWCA Environmental Consultants

January 2016

2016 National Park Service CENTENNIAL NPS.GOV

Utah Division of State History

Making a Place in the Beehive State: A Literature Review and Preliminary Identification of Asian and Pacific Islander Heritage Sites in Utah, 1865–1970

Prepared for

Utah Division of State History
300 South Rio Grande Street
Salt Lake City, Utah 84101

Prepared by

Anne Oliver, Principal Investigator
Kate Hovanes, Architectural Historian
Stephanie Lechert, Historic Archaeologist

SWCA Environmental Consultants
257 East 200 South, Suite 200
Salt Lake City, Utah 84111
(801) 322-4307
www.swca.com

SWCA Project No. 32248
SWCA Cultural Resources Report No. 2015-637

January 22, 2016

SWCA ENVIRONMENTAL CONSULTANTS
Sound Science. Creative Solutions.®

Utah Division of State History

2016 National Park Service CENTENNIAL NPS.GOV

ABSTRACT

In the spring of 2015, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office of the Utah Division of State History (UDSH) received a grant through the National Park Service to increase awareness and representation of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah. The UDSH retained SWCA Environmental Consultants to complete a literature review to identify sites, buildings, structures, districts, and objects that are, or could be, listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) because of their importance to and representation of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage.

The project focused on identifying properties for listing on the NRHP. This was accomplished through an extensive literature and database review to identify known properties in Utah that have already been determined eligible, and to identify known and unknown properties that need to be assessed for NRHP eligibility due to their importance to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. To place known properties associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in context, and to identify the locations and types of potential new properties, a historical outline for each ethnic and/or cultural group present in Utah between 1865 and 1970 was researched and written using secondary sources. Before World War II, these groups included primarily the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and Samoans. Additional groups began arriving after World War II, including Thais, Tongans, Maoris, Tahitians, and Fijians.

UDSH staff and volunteers conducted a search of records in PreservationPro, the state's architecture and archaeology database, by using keywords relating to Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic and cultural groups. The file search identified 166 previously documented archaeological resources and 57 previously documented architectural resources with a potentially strong connection to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah. A comparison between the results of the file search and the results of the literature review quickly reveals that a great number of places, occupations, and activities associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah are not represented in the archaeological or architectural record.

The 166 archaeological resources identified in the file search were distributed among 15 Utah counties. Most of the archaeological resources were associated with railroads, mining (particularly coal mining), or townsites associated with mines. In all, 20 resources are currently listed on the NRHP, but nearly all of these would benefit from additional research to expand our knowledge and understanding of the Asian and Pacific Islander temporal and spatial presence in these places; their working, domestic, social, spiritual, and political lives and experiences; their contributions to the state's heritage; and the influence of Utah's other peoples and cultures on their own ways of life. Of the remaining sites, 93 were considered to have high or medium potential for further research and/or fieldwork that might lead to NRHP listing.

The 57 architectural resources identified in the file search were distributed among 13 Utah counties and included both historic districts and individual resources like railroad buildings, laundries, mining sites, and buildings associated with the Japanese and the sugar beet industry. More than half of the architectural resources are listed on the NRHP, but again, nearly all would benefit from additional research to expand our knowledge and understanding of Asians and Pacific Islanders in Utah and their lives in these places.

This technical report provides a basic framework to support NRHP evaluations and nominations of properties associated with Asian and Pacific Islander communities in Utah documented from archival and published sources. It can be augmented greatly by the incorporation of community perspectives garnered through future outreach. History is in the eye of the beholder, and much of what has been written about minority groups in Utah has come from historians and observers outside of those communities. The most crucial aspect of future work will be the incorporation of Asian and Pacific Islander perspectives on their history and experience in the state, both at the academic research level and through more broad-based community outreach and involvement, in order that the historic properties most important to their own perceptions of heritage are those that are nominated for NRHP listing.

This page intentionally blank

CONTENTS

APPENDICES

FIGURES

TABLES

1. INTRODUCTION

In the spring of 2015, the Utah State Historic Preservation Office (SHPO) of the Utah Division of State History (UDSH) received a grant through the National Park Service to increase awareness and representation of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah. The UDSH retained SWCA Environmental Consultants (SWCA) to complete a literature review to identify sites, buildings, structures, districts, and objects that are, or could be, listed on the National Register of Historic Places (NRHP) because of their importance to and representation of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage.

The project focused on identifying properties for listing on the NRHP. This was accomplished through an extensive literature and database review to identify known properties in Utah that have already been determined eligible, and to identify known and unknown properties that need to be assessed for NRHP eligibility due to their importance to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. The initial proposal stated that deliverables would include a) a technical report detailing the results of the literature review; b) a public meeting to present the draft report, solicit further input, and generate leads to potentially eligible sites; and c) an article for publication that synthesizes the results of the project in a meaningful and engaging manner. An optional task, which was approved and funded by UDSH, was the preparation of an NRHP multiple property documentation form (MPDF) for Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah.

Input received at a preliminary stakeholders meeting convened by UDSH indicated that a more developed program of community outreach and involvement would be crucial prior to convening a general public meeting and that preparation of an MPDF would be premature without collecting and evaluating community responses. For these reasons, the public meeting and MPDF were cancelled. To make best use of the available funds, SWCA, in consultation with UDSH, developed and executed the following revised scope of work, which included expanding the technical report to include the results of census research, mapping the census research results, and presenting preliminary project results at the Utah State History annual conference.

1. *Project Kickoff Meeting*: SWCA convened a meeting between its principal investigators and UDSH staff to discuss all aspects of the project in detail.
2. *Class I Literature Review*: UDSH staff and volunteers conducted a directed file search in their archaeological and architectural databases to identify known properties associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah. SWCA then prepared a preliminary context for Asian and Pacific Islander history in Utah using primary and secondary sources, incorporated the results of the UDSH file search, and used the combined information to identify both known and potential properties (sites, buildings, structures, objects, and districts) associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage that may meet NRHP criteria.
3. *Platform Development for Community Input*: SWCA developed a simple online platform using Google Forms that will facilitate the involvement of Asian and Pacific Islander descendant communities in identifying possible NRHP-eligible historic properties related to their heritage. This will be provided as a separate deliverable.
4. *Technical Report of Class I Literature Review Findings:* SWCA prepared the technical report presented here. It a) provides a historical overview of Asian and Pacific Islander populations in Utah and identifies significant historic themes and periods; b) collates all known properties identified in the Class I literature review that meet NRHP guidelines by property types, including sites, buildings, structures, objects, and districts; c) identifies known properties that require further in-field assessment and review; and d) identifies potential property types that may be eligible for NRHP listing.

5. *Expansion of Technical Report:* SWCA expanded the technical report by reviewing census data for Asian and Pacific Islander populations in Utah from 1860 to 1940 (the last year on public record) and incorporating detailed primary-source information into the literature review, including population numbers by county (and by city where possible), typical occupations, immigration and settlement trends and patterns, and general demographic information.
6. *Mapping of Project Results:* SWCA created maps of project results (incorporated in this report) that visually correlate information from the literature review, file search, and census data. These maps illustrate population densities and movements through time, link known sites in the UDSH database to the results of the historic context and census research, and identify areas with a high potential for NRHP-eligible properties. Maps were designed to be appropriate for large-scale display and use in future public meetings.
7. *Presentation of Class I Literature Review Results at the Utah State History Conference*: SWCA's principal investigator, Anne Oliver, presented the preliminary results of the literature review at the Utah State History Conference on October 2, 2015. The paper, "Making a Place in the Beehive State: Asian and Asian-American Heritage Sites in Utah, 1865–1940," was included in a panel entitled "Under-Documented Communities in Utah: Iosepa & Chinese Railroad Workers" (Oliver 2015).
8. *Article for Publication*: SWCA will prepare the manuscript of an article for publication in a peer-reviewed journal of history or archaeology that synthesizes the results of the project in a scientifically accurate and engaging way. The Utah Historical Quarterly will have rights of first refusal for any manuscript.

This technical report provides a basic framework to support NRHP evaluations and nominations of properties associated with Asian and Pacific Islander communities in Utah documented from archival and published sources; it will be augmented by the incorporation of community perspectives to be garnered through future outreach. History is in the eye of the beholder, and much of what has been written about minority groups in Utah has come from historians and observers outside of those communities. The most crucial aspect of future work will be the incorporation of Asian and Pacific Islander perspectives on their history and experience in the state, both at the academic research level and through more broad-based community outreach and involvement, in order that the historic properties most important to their own perceptions of heritage are those that are nominated for listing.

1.1. Acknowledgement of Support

The activity that is the subject of this literature review has been financed in part with federal funds from the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior, and is administered by the SHPO.[1] The contents and opinions do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the Department of the Interior or the Utah SHPO, nor does the mention of trade names or commercial products constitute endorsement or recommendation by the Department of the Interior or the Utah SHPO.

[1] This program receives federal financial assistance for identification and protection of historic properties. Under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975, as amended, the U. S. Department of the Interior prohibits on the basis of race, color, national origin, disability or age in its federally assisted programs. If you believe you have been discriminated against in any program, activity, or facility as described above, or if you desire further information, please write to: Office for Equal Opportunity, National Park Service, 1849 C Street NW, Washington, D.C. 20240.

1.2. Geographic Area

The geographic area covered by this literature review comprises the entire state of Utah but focuses on cities and towns known to have significant populations of Asians and Pacific Islanders in the historic period, from 1865 to 1970.

1.3. Summary of Identification and Evaluation Methods

This literature review is based on research in local archives and detailed searches of the UDSH archaeological and architectural records. To prepare the historic context section of this report, research was conducted at the University of Utah's Marriott Library, the Research Center of the Utah State Archives and UDSH, and the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints (LDS) Church History Library, all located in Salt Lake City, Utah. A variety of keywords were used to search the repositories and online catalogs in order to identify both primary and secondary resources relating to Asian and Pacific Islander history in the state. Identified resources included books, journal articles, photographic collections, oral history transcripts, and manuscript collections, which were then evaluated for prospective research topics. An annotated bibliography of resources in these archives is provided in Appendix A. Due to project limitations, the historic context section of this report derives mainly from secondary sources, but the primary sources identified in the annotated bibliography may be of use during future phases of research.

The list of keywords used to search local archives was also used to search PreservationPro, the archaeological and architectural records database at UDSH. UDSH staff conducted the file search by using keywords relating to Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic and cultural groups, as well as known and likely locations, artifacts, topics, and occupations. Mr. Cory Jensen, National Register Coordinator, Historic Buildings Program, researched architecture files, and Dr. Chris Merritt, Deputy SHPO and Antiquities Section Coordinator, and Mr. Arie Leeflang, Archaeology Records Manager, coordinated the search of archaeology records. A special acknowledgment goes to Anali Rappleye, UDSH volunteer intern, who donated 127 hours to complete the file search. The keyword search resulted in the identification of 204 previously documented archaeological resources and 33 previously documented architectural resources with a known or possible connection to Asian or Pacific Islander heritage.

In order to supplement information from secondary sources, census records from 1860 through 1940 were also searched for persons of Asian and Pacific Islander birth and/or ethnicity.[2] The Ancestry.com website was used for this purpose, and the ethnic/cultural groups searched for all census years included Chinese, Japanese, Korean, Filipino, Pacific Islander, Hawaiian, Samoan, Tongan, Fijian, Polynesian, and Maori/New Zealander.[3] Given the project limitations, census data could only be quickly scanned for information pertaining to the numbers and locations of Asians, Asian-Americans, and Pacific Islanders in Utah through time, and for general information on employment types and sometimes household composition. However, much richer demographic information remains to be gleaned from the census data, including details on immigration years and patterns, a more comprehensive study of households and how they changed through time, the movement of Asian and Pacific Islander populations into and out of Utah after arriving in the United States, and so forth.

[2] The Eleventh Census of the United States (1890) was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1921; no population schedules from Utah survived, although numbers can be derived from secondary sources. Detailed census records after 1940 are not yet available to the public.

[3] U.S. census records provide only an approximation of the total number of Asians and Pacific Islanders in Utah at a given time. Minority and low-income populations are typically underrepresented today, and this was likely even more true historically. Also, Ancestry.com search engine results are not always accurate given errors in scanning and/or transcription of original records, but spot checks of search results with the original census sheets indicate that the margin of error is fairly small.

Census searches were conducted for populations not known to have a significant historic presence in Utah, including those from Southeast Asian countries of the Pacific Rim (or their pre–World War II colonial counterparts) like Siam (Thailand), British Malaya (Malaysia), Dutch East Indies (Indonesia), and French Indochina (Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam). Most emigration from these areas was to the colonizing country and not to the United States, and there are few if any records of these groups in Utah prior to the end of the colonial era, which is usually marked by the end of World War II. After the war, population movements and immigration laws around the world changed significantly, but census data for these years are not yet available. Secondary literature on post–World War II populations is also limited because that time is so recent, and there has not yet been much impetus to write histories or synthesize information to understand patterns and trends.

Sanborn Fire Insurance maps are another potential source of information about the locations of buildings and other resources relating to Asians in Utah. The maps were produced by the Sanborn Map Company beginning in 1867 and were updated periodically through about the 1950s for towns and cities throughout the United States. On Utah maps, Chinese properties, businesses, and/or dwellings were sometimes called out specifically, as were a few Japanese properties. Examining all Sanborn maps for Utah was outside the scope of this project, but future research directed toward a specific municipality should include a review of available Sanborn maps. Cities and towns with known Asian populations and for which Sanborn maps were created include American Fork, Beaver, Bingham, Brigham City, Columbia, Corinne, Duchesne, Eureka, Garland, Green River, Helper, Kaysville, Layton, Lewiston, Logan, Magna, Mammoth, Mercur, Midvale, Morgan, Murray, Ogden, Ophir, Park City, Payson, Price, Provo, Salt Lake City, Sandy, Scofield, Tooele, and Vernal.

2. HISTORICAL CONTEXTS FOR ASIAN AND PACIFIC ISLANDER GROUPS IN UTAH

In order to place known properties associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in context, and to identify the locations and types of potential new properties, a historical outline for each ethnic and/or cultural group present in Utah between 1865 and 1970 was researched and written using secondary sources. Prior to World War II, these groups included primarily the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, Filipinos, Hawaiians, and Samoans. Additional groups began arriving after World War II, including Thais, Tongans, Maori, Tahitians, and Fijians.[4]

[4] A note on terminology: This report considers the history and heritage of both immigrants and subsequent generations of American-born people of Asian and Pacific Islander ancestry in Utah. For ease of discussion (and a number of other factors, like the complexity of the census data, the inconsistency of terminological distinctions in the literature, etc.), the name of the ethnic or cultural group is often used to describe both native-born and American-born people (e.g., "Chinese" may describe both native Chinese and Chinese-Americans).

2.1. Asians

Figure 1. A Chinese railroad worker in Utah, 1912 (Shipler Commercial Photograph #13408). Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

2.1.1. Chinese

The first significant influx of Chinese immigrants to the United States occurred in 1865, when they were brought in as laborers for the construction of the transcontinental railroad (Carter 1967:440–441). Most early immigrants came from Guangdong province and the regions surrounding the port city of Guangzhou (Canton) (Voss and Allen 2008:6). This immigration pattern was the result of a variety of factors. Guangzhou was one of five open trade ports in China, with thriving classes of merchants, craftspeople, and professionals. Those living in the area had ready access to transportation and often had the economic capital to utilize that access (Voss and Allen 2008:6, 9). Problems in the region also encouraged emigration, including resistance to the ruling Qing dynasty (and its subsequent economic and social suppression), various conflicts including the Opium Wars and a number of civil wars, financial crises, and natural disasters (Voss and Allen 2008:9). Most of the Chinese who emigrated were peasants, farmers, or craftsmen, married men who intended to stay in America only temporarily before returning to their families in China.

2.1.1.1. EARLY IMMIGRATION AND RAILROAD WORK, 1865–1885

The first reported contact between Utahns and Chinese occurred in 1853 when a Mormon mission arrived in Hong Kong, although the mission did not have notable success in making converts (Carter 1967:437). But many Chinese railroad laborers arrived in Utah in the late 1860s during the furious push to complete the transcontinental railroad (Figure 1). Estimates of Chinese workers in 1868–1869 are as high as 3,000, all concentrated in Box Elder County along the Central Pacific Railroad alignment (Francaviglia 2008). When construction was completed in 1869, however, most Chinese laborers left the state, most often moving to the west coast or returning to China. But at least one Chinese man made his way south; an 1869 Salt Lake City directory lists Chong Ping as a tea merchant living and working at 200 South near East Temple (Jones 2012).

The dispersal of the railroad workers is reflected in the 1870 census, which lists only 350 Chinese remaining in Utah Territory (Table 1).[5] Of these, 334 people (95 percent) were male; only 16 were female. All were born in China, and although they ranged in age from 15 to 58, most were in their mid-20s to late 40s. 347 of the Chinese lived in Box Elder County, and almost all were employed in some way with the railroad (Figure 2), either as section laborers or as cooks, while some "operated laundries which followed work crews" (Cheng 1999:64).[6] Section laborers were typically responsible for the repair and maintenance of ten to twelve mile of railway; they usually lived and worked in a semi-permanent camp or larger station along the section, or in railroad-owned facilities in a nearby town. "The typical facilities at a section station included a section house, eating and sleeping accommodations, water tank, freight platform, light duty turntable…, a siding, and/or a spur" (Raymond and Fike 1994:27). The Chinese often had their own living quarters, which sometimes took the form of dugouts, tents, or other temporary buildings. The census records in Box Elder County list 14 stations and section camps with Chinese residents (Ancestry 2015a [1870 U.S. Census]; Cheng 1999:64). They also lived and worked in two railroad towns—Willard and Corinne—that remain today (Carter 1967:444). Most of the women in the census (13 total) lived in Corrine. Ogden also had three Chinese residents, two living in their own household and one living with another family and working on the railroad (Ancestry 2015a [1870 U.S. Census]).

Table 1. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1870 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Box Elder	Nearest post office Kelton (Lake Station, Matlin Section, Lucin Section, Bovine Section, Tecoma Section, Monument Section, Terrace Station, Sections 135 and 136, Lake Station	226
	Nearest post office Promontory (Promontory Station, Blue Creek Station, Rozel Section)	
	Corinne	78
	Willard	43
	SUBTOTAL	*347*
Weber	Ogden	3
	TOTAL	**350**

[5] U.S. Census records provide only an approximation of the total number of Asians and Pacific Islanders in Utah at a given time. Minority and low-income populations are typically underrepresented today, and this was likely even more true historically. Most non-census estimates provide significantly higher population numbers, but sources of information are inconsistent and difficult to compare.

[6] Counties on this and all following maps reflect current names and boundaries. The number of counties in Utah and their boundaries (and even a few names) were changed multiple times between 1850, when the State of Deseret created six counties, and the late 1800s. At statehood in 1896, however, 27 of Utah's 29 counties were established with their current names and approximate present-day boundaries. The last two counties were created in 1915, when Duchesne County was created from Wasatch County, and in 1918, when Daggett County was created from Summit and Uintah Counties. For further information see John H. Long (ed.), 2008, *Utah: Consolidated Chronology of State and County Boundaries* (Newberry Library 2008). Available at: http://publications.newberry.org/ahcbp/documents/UT_Consolidated_Chronology.htm#Consolidated_Chronology. Accessed November 8, 2015.

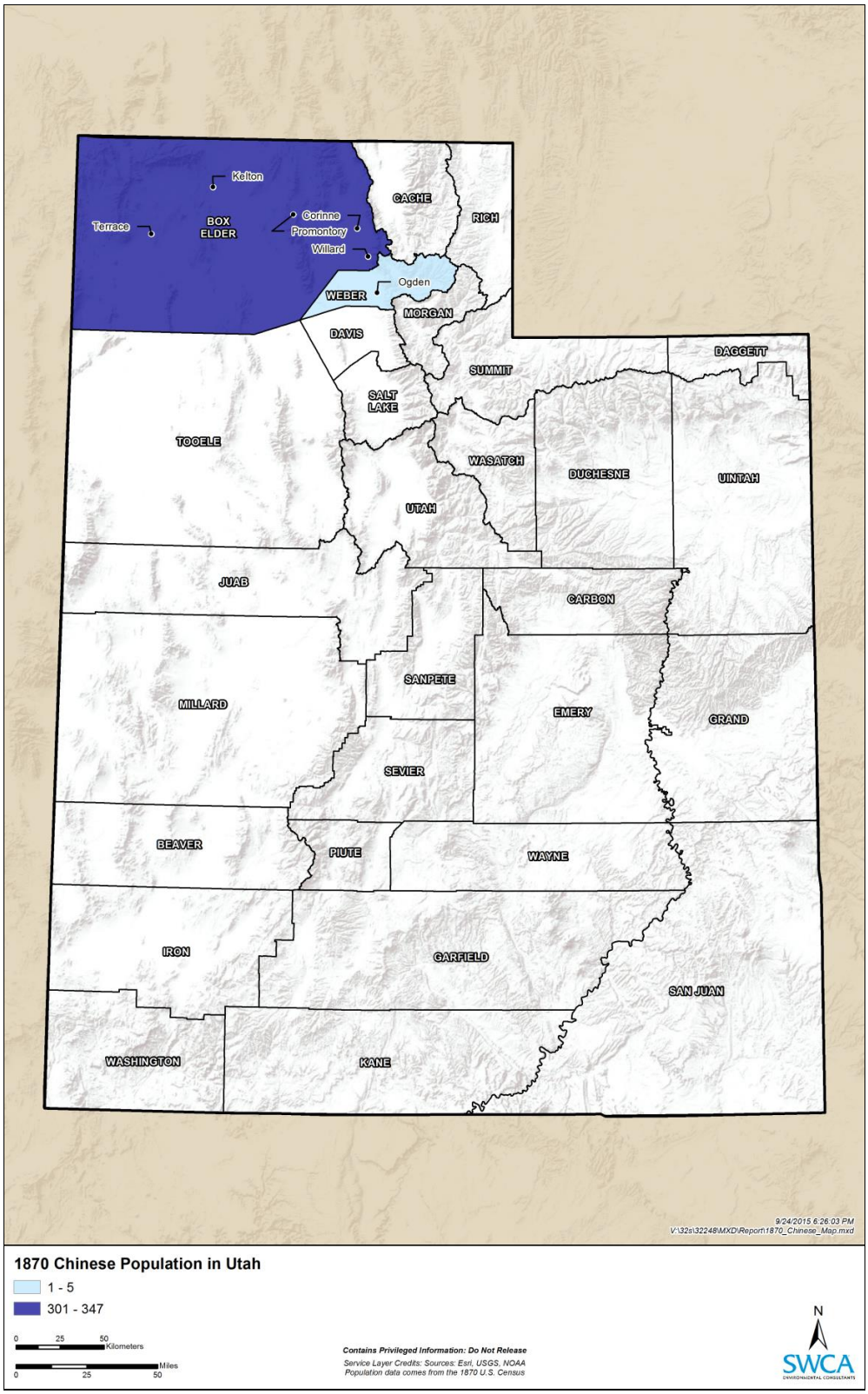

Figure 2. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1870 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents living in stations or section camps.

Throughout the 1870s, the Chinese worked primarily on the railroad in Box Elder County. An example of one large settlement was Terrace, which functioned as a railroad town until a fire in 1900 drove out the few remaining residents. The diversity of the Chinese experience is apparent in this description of Terrace during its heyday in 1880:

> Most of the men were railroad employees, but others were independent small businessmen. One man named Hong Lee 'kept a store,' another, Wah Hing, ran a laundry. Ching Moon was a grocer, and the only woman, true to frontier expectations, was a twenty-eight-year-old prostitute. One Wong Tz Chong performed the handiwork of a tailor, and another, Ah Lei, raised vegetables in his own garden. Apparently there were two Chinese laundries in Terrace, because Wa Hop was a laundry proprietor also. (Conley 2015)

The Chinese railroad workers also began to disperse across the western part of the state, following the expansion of the railroads and the opening of the region's mines.[7] After Utah law banned them from working in the mines, many Chinese worked in support services for mining operations (Liestman 1996:80). The 1880 census indicates that they also began to concentrate in Salt Lake City and Ogden where incipient Chinatowns provided community, opportunity, and some measure of insulation against discrimination and increasing physical persecution. One area of business in which the Chinese faced little direct competition was in laundry work. Over time, large cities like Salt Lake City had at least 17 Chinese washhouses (Jones 2012). Smaller communities like Mercur, Eureka, Fort Duchesne, and Milford all had a Chinese laundry business (Carter 1967:464–465; Cheng 1999:65). In urban areas, others found jobs as cooks, merchants, tailors, and market gardeners; the census also records one shoemaker and one cigar maker (Ancestry and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints 2015 [U.S. Census 1880]).[8]

Perhaps Utah's earliest Chinatown was in Washington County at Silver Reef, a mining town that boomed between about 1875 and the early 1880s after the discovery of silver deposits in the local sandstone (Alder and Brooks 1996:113). Estimates place 250 Chinese living in Silver Reef in "the Chinese sector" in the 1870s, although by 1880 the census records only 45 Chinese residents. There was a Chinese cemetery in Silver Reef, but most of the remains were exhumed after a brief internment and returned to China, a customary practice among the Chinese (Carter 1967:478–479). Silver Reef is a ghost town today and only a few buildings remain, including the sandstone Wells Fargo Express Office, which was listed on the NRHP in 1971.

By 1880, Utah had 467 recorded Chinese residents, of whom 431 (92 percent) were male and 36 (8 percent) were female (Table 2). The men were almost all approximately 30 years old; this may suggest that older individuals had moved out of the state, perhaps returning to China to rejoin wives and families, and more young immigrants had arrived. The population had also undergone considerable geographic dispersal, although the women lived mostly in Silver Reef and Kelton (Figure 3).

[7] Utah did not become a state until 1896, but for ease of discussion the word is used to describe the Utah Territory throughout this report.

[8] Cigar making may have been a relatively common occupation among the Chinese. A cigar factory was noted on the 1898 Sanborn map at the south end of Plum Alley, which was Salt Lake City's Chinatown; the street address was 47 East 200 South (Sanborn 1898: Sheet 103).

Table 2. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1880 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents	Occupations
Box Elder	Terrace	55	Railroad worker (26) Working in railroad shop (13) Cook (5) Laundry (4) Grocer (1) Store keeper (1) Tailor (1) Works in garden (1) Works in roundhouse (1) Works in boilerhouse (1) Prostitute (1)
	Kelton	42 (12 are women)	Railroad worker (28) Cook (7) Waiter in hotel (1) Laundry (5) Prostitute (1)
	Grouse Creek	14	Railroad workers (14)
	Willard	12	Laborer on railroad (12)
	Corinne	12	Laborer (10) Servant (1) Shoemaker (1)
	Promontory	8	Works on track (6) Cook (2)
	SUBTOTAL	*143*	
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	74	Washing house/laundry (43) Cook (1 female) (11) Cigar maker (10) Market gardener (3) Merchant (3) Clerk in store (1) Keeps house (1) Servant (1) Tailor (1)
	Bingham	28	Cook (13) Laundry (8) Laborer (6) "Nothing" (1)
	Little Cottonwood	16	Cook (12) Wash house (2) Keeping house (2, both female)
	Fort Harriman	1	Cook (1)
	SUBTOTAL	*119*	
Summit	Park City	43	Cook (20) Washing/laundry (20) Waiter (2) Keeps restaurant (1)
	Echo	24	Laborer (presumably for the railroad) (24)
	SUBTOTAL	*67*	

Table 2. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1880 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents	Occupations
Washington	Silver Reef	45 (including 10 women)	Laundryman (13) Cook (9) Servant (7) Keeps house (5) Laborer (5) Clerk in store (1) Barber (1)
	Leeds	3	Cook (3)
	SUBTOTAL	*48*	
Weber	Ogden	25	Washhouse (8) Gardener (8) Chinese store (2) Laborer (2) Cook, mining (1) Railroad gravel train (1) Railroad man (1) Servant (1)
	Uintah	7	Laborer (presumably for the railroad) (7)
	SUBTOTAL	*32*	
Beaver	Frisco	15	Washing (9) Cook (6)
	Star	8	Cook (5) Washing (3)
	Beaver City	3	Cook (2) Restaurateur (1)
	Bradshaw	1	Cook (1)
	Lincoln	1	Cook (1)
	SUBTOTAL	*28*	
Morgan	Croydon	10	Railroad section workers (9) Servant (1)
	Peterson	6	Railroad section workers (6)
	Round Valley	1	Cook (1)
	SUBTOTAL	*17*	
Tooele	Stockton	6	Cook (3) Washing (2) Housekeeper (1)
	Jacob City	2	Cook (2)
	Ophir	1	Cook (1)
	SUBTOTAL	*9*	
Wasatch	Midway	2	Cook for Utah Mine (1) Cook for Bonanza Mine (1)
	Sunrise	1	Cook (1)
	SUBTOTAL	*3*	
Millard	Deseret	1	Cook (1)
	TOTAL	**467**	

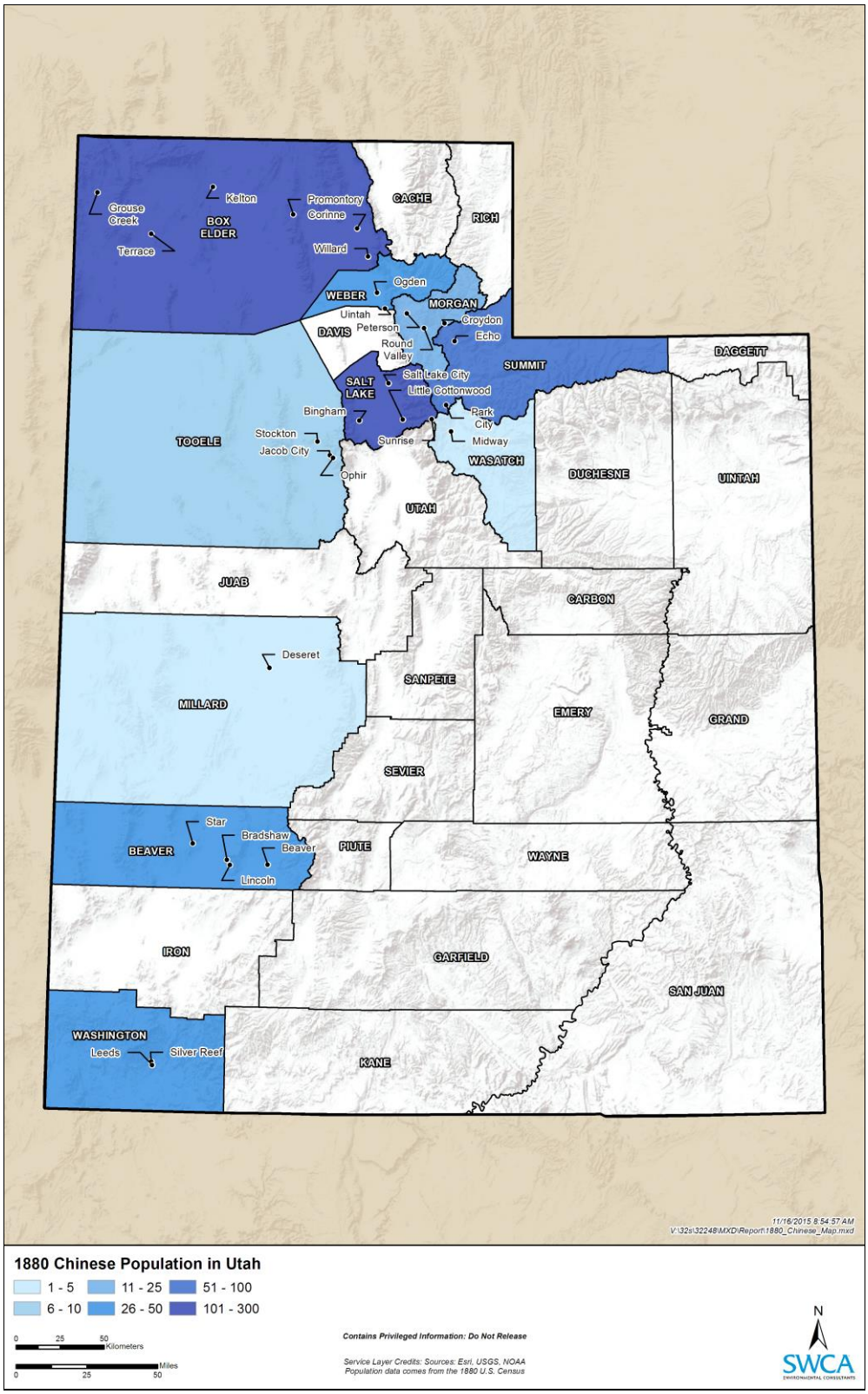

Figure 3. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1880 U.S. Census. All labelled towns and cities either had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents living in stations or section camps.

Some Americans strongly objected to the presence of large numbers of Chinese immigrants for a complex set of reasons (U.S. Department of State 2015b). The Chinese were visibly foreign in dress and appearance, were predominantly male, and often lived together in groups or in Chinatowns. Many intended to return to China and lacked the interest to assimilate, particularly in a cultural environment where assimilation may have been an impossible goal. As well, "Non-Chinese workers in the United States came to resent the Chinese laborers, who might squeeze them out of their jobs" because the Chinese worked for lower pay (U.S. Department of State 2015a). American critics also objected to the Chinese practice of sending earnings back to China to support families. These and other perceived threats led to increasing antagonism, particularly in California where the Chinese population was greatest, and resulted in a variety of reactions during this period, both legal and social.

One of these reactions was the introduction of the first legal immigration restriction based on race: the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 (Lee 2002:36) (see Appendix B). Earlier immigration restriction laws had been introduced in Congress but were vetoed by President Rutherford B. Hayes because they violated U.S. treaty agreements with China. Preceded by the Angell Treaty of 1880, which was negotiated with China and introduced restrictions on new Chinese laborer immigrants who had never been in the United States, the Chinese Exclusion Act represented not only a definitive codification of racial antagonisms, it also severely curtailed the ability of Chinese immigrants to enter the United States (Lee 2002:36; U.S. Department of State 2015a). While the Angell Treaty allowed those already in the United States "to go and come of their own free will and accord" and determined that they would be "accorded all the rights, privileges, immunities, and exemptions which are accorded to the citizens and subjects of the most favored nation," the Chinese Exclusion Act suspended "the coming of Chinese laborers to the United States" for 10 years (Federal Judicial Center 2015; Yale Law School 2008). Importantly, it also made it even more difficult for Chinese wives and families to join men already in the United States.

Although also based on racial antagonism, other reactions were more physically violent. One resident of Carbon County recollected that in the 1880s, a group of Chinese railroad laborers were locked into a boxcar, which was then pushed down the railroad grade. Fortunately, the car kept the track but the Chinese "have not been seen in Pleasant Valley from that day to this" (Reynolds 1948:37, as cited in Conley 2001:301). Many other examples of physical violence occurred, ranging from random beatings to outright murder (Conley 2001:299; Kirk 2007:149). Indeed, by 1885 the atmosphere had become so charged with violence that many Chinese railroad workers abandoned their work, leaving a labor shortage that would be filled to a large extent by Japanese immigrants (Kirk 2007:149; Merritt 2012:670).

2.1.1.2. A SHIFT TO URBAN CENTERS, 1885–1916

Patterns of racial discrimination, particularly legal measures, would continue well into the twentieth century. The Scott Act of 1888 made re-entering the country after a visit to China impossible for the Chinese who had legally immigrated to the United States. In 1892, the Geary Act renewed the exclusion acts for 10 years. In 1902, the exclusion was extended to cover Hawaii and the Philippines. Congress eventually indefinitely extended the Exclusion Act (U.S. Department of State 2015b) (see Appendix B). It was not until 1943 that the Chinese Exclusion Acts were repealed.

Because the 11th U.S. Census was destroyed by fire, less statistical information is available for Utah's Chinese in the 1890s, but we can assume that some people continued to follow mining and railroad camps as they came and went. Cheng (1999) reports that the Chinese population reached a high of 806 in 1890. The increase occurred despite the passage of the exclusion acts, presumably due to limited immigration (both legal and illegal) as well as the arrival of Chinese from California who wanted to escape its harsher climate of discrimination. Of those in Utah, about 147 remained in Box Elder County (Conley 2015).

Wallace Clay, who grew up among Chinese workers at the Blue Creek Station where his father was the telegraph operator and Central Pacific agent, provides a rare glimpse into Chinese domestic life and material culture.

> I will now describe how my 'Chinese friends' lived at old Blue Creek Station in 1891. The antiquated box-car they lived in had been remodeled into a "work-car," in one end of which a series of small bunk beds had been built as a vertical column of three bunks one above the other on both sides of the car-end from floor to ceiling so that around eighteen Chinamen could sleep in the bedroom end of the car, while the other end of the car served as a kitchen and dining room wherein there was a cast iron cook stove with its stove pipe going up through the roof of the car and with all kinds of pots and pans and skillets hanging around the walls, plus cubby holes for tea cups and big and little blue china bowls and chop sticks and wooden table and benches—about like we now find in forest service camp grounds—occupying the middle of the car. (Wallace Clay in Conley 2015)

Many Chinese moved to urban areas, where more cohesive communities were developing. These became the Chinatowns of Salt Lake City (Plum Alley), Ogden (around Lower 25th Street), Corinne, and Park City, among other places (Cheng 1999:52–53) (Figure 4). The sizes and layouts of the Chinatowns varied widely during this period, depending on the geography of the municipality and the size of the Chinese community. This development was no coincidence; as one scholar has noted, "Chinatown provided Chinese with economic opportunities, family relations, and culture," as well as some measure of insulation against discrimination and sometimes physical violence (Cheng 1999:53). Liestman (1996) has written eloquently on the development and decline of Utah's Chinatowns, one example (if perhaps the most exotic to Utahns) of the multiple types of ethnic enclaves typically established by new immigrant groups to Utah, which included a Little Denmark, Bohunk Towns (for Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes), Japan Towns, Little Italys, and Greek Towns.

In 1890, 271 Chinese lived in Salt Lake City in a Chinatown that encompassed Plum Alley as well as sections of First South, Commercial Avenue (now Regent Street), and East Temple (now Main Street) (Conley 2015; Liestman 1996:75). Early descriptions by whites often include references to immorality, disease, and law-breaking. While historical records show arrests for gambling and opium use in the area (primarily of non-Chinese, it should be noted) and while a spatial correspondence did exist between the locations of brothels and Chinatown in Salt Lake City, existing preconceptions about the Chinese on the part of white Utahns heavily influenced these observations (Lansing 2004:230). As Michael Lansing observes, "…Chinatown emerged from not just the grouping of these foreign immigrants together but from the expectation that they be grouped together" (Lansing 2004:223). Investigation by law enforcement was common and often arbitrary; in one case a well-known brothel and gambling house was not investigated because a white law officer owned it (Lansing 2004:231). Indeed, for the most part the reality of Utah's Chinese communities was one of mutual support and economic innovation. As Lansing writes, "In its collective of Chinese locations, Chinatown offered a safe harbor…[because] Chinese immigrants remained foreigners, no matter…the length of their residency in the United States…" (Lansing 2004:234).

Figure 4. A view of Plum Alley, Salt Lake City's Chinatown, in 1907. Courtesy of the Utah State Historical Society.

During this period, Chinese labor agents could be found working in Utah's Chinese community. One was Chin Quan Chan, or Chin Chin, who was also regarded as the "mayor" of Salt Lake City's Chinatown in the early 1900s. Other prominent Salt Lake City merchants and Chinese community leaders included Dave Hing, Chin's "deputy mayor," and Sam Lee, regarded as the spokesperson for the Chinese in the 1870s and 1880s (Liestman 1996:85).

Jones (2012) outlines the establishment and growth of Plum Alley but also presents a detailed analysis of Chinese occupations that provided a life outside of Chinatown. The laundry business gave the Chinese an opportunity "to live and work among other downtown Salt Lake City residential and commercial blocks mostly along the north-south axis of State and Main streets."[9] His research in city directories and Sanborn maps provides the names of proprietors and street addresses for Chinese laundries in the area that were operating between 1885 and 1911, beginning with 14 in 1885, reaching a high of 16 in 1891–1892, and ending with 11 in 1911 (Jones 2015) (Appendix C). Additionally, a number of Salt Lake City's Chinese residents operated commercial vegetable gardens during this period.

> Nestled among neighborhoods that had a mix of structures – homes, small businesses, and expanding manufacturing operations – the Chinese gardeners worked outdoors where they could be seen readily, and often these gardeners traveled through residential areas where they peddled their produce door-to-door, thus giving them considerable, positive contact with white society. (Jones 2012:8)

The Chinese gardeners often lived in small dwellings or shacks on their garden plots. In 1877, the *Salt Lake Herald* reported that the "cabin of the Chinese gardeners" had caused a small blaze; the dwelling was on a 1.5-acre lot in the middle of downtown, at 400 South between State and Main Streets, diagonally

[9] Walter Jones is a historian, librarian, and former head of the Annie Clark Tanner Western Americana Collection at the J. Willard Marriott Library of the University of Utah. He has presented several academic papers on the topic of the Chinese in Salt Lake City, and he graciously shared his time and unpublished research materials for this project.

across the street to the north of the present-day Salt Lake City and County Building (Jones 2012).[10] The number of Chinese vegetable gardens increased after the 1870s, spreading to the west side of Salt Lake City and then into less-developed areas toward 2100 South. "The greatest concentration of such operations, however, was along the West-side railroad corridor in the vicinity of today's West High School," where Sanborn maps identify at least 10 gardens between 1884 and 1911 (Jones 2012:9). For this project, Jones's research was used to create a table providing the locations and brief descriptions of properties with vegetable gardens and/or buildings and structures labeled "Chinese" (Appendix D).

Park City had the second-largest Chinese population, estimated at 131 people in 1890, and a thriving Chinatown during this period (Conley 2015); other estimates place the population closer to 200 or 300 people (Kimball 2013:15). According to long-time Park City resident Fraser Buck, "The Chinese moved into an area back of Main Street about a block above the post office; they had about fourteen or so houses there" and also operated various Chinese-owned businesses throughout the town (Conley 2001:299). The low-lying neighborhood was once spanned by the China Bridge, painted bright red, a lost landmark built in 1886 that allowed Rossie Hill residents to pass over the area on their way into town (Kimball 2013:10). Other Chinese lived and worked in the boardinghouses in the mining camps above town. Park City's Chinatown was destroyed in the disastrous fire of 1898 and never regained its original size due to the cost of rebuilding (Cheng 1999:49). Perhaps more importantly, in 1902 and 1903 the miner's union campaigned to "boycott Chinese restaurants and laundries, to end employment of Chinese, and to prohibit the selling and buying of Chinese goods" in Park City, creating a climate that would have suppressed the full recovery and reconstruction of Chinatown (Conley 2015). A few dozen individuals and families stayed and established well-remembered Park City businesses, like Charlie Chong's Senate Café, Joe Grover's real estate company, and the Gins' laundry, but most moved on (Kimball 2013:34–36).

By 1890, a Chinatown had also developed in Ogden, where there were 106 Chinese residents. Many lived and worked "in low wooden structures" along 25th Street "from the Broom Hotel to the railroad station, four city blocks west of Washington Boulevard" (Carter 1967: 478; Conley 2015). Many of the Chinese buildings were likely shophouses, a traditional Southeast Asian building type with a store or shop in the front and sleeping rooms behind. In the case of a two- or three-story building, the shop would be on the first floor and the sleeping rooms above, often opening onto an internal courtyard or a gallery overlooking the shop. Among its businesses, Ogden had at least five Chinese laundries, operated by Ching Wah (2438 Grant Avenue), Hang Yei (2222 Grant Avenue), Sam Wah (271 25th Street), Sue Wah (123 25th Street), and Wong Lee (229 25th Street) (Carter in Conley 2015).

By 1900, however, Utah's Chinese population had decreased to fewer than 600 people dispersed among 15 counties (Table 3 and Figure 5). Nearly all were born in China, although at least two were born in California (Ancestry 2015b [U.S. Census 1900]). In 1900, nearly half lived in Salt Lake County, giving it the largest Chinese population in the state and marking a continued shift away from the difficult labor of the railroads and mines and also the sometimes-violent anti-Chinese sentiment in those communities. Most (142) lived in Salt Lake City's 5th Ward, including Plum Alley and the surrounding area; smaller contingents lived in the city's 3rd and 2nd Wards. Most were laundrymen, ironers, washers, cooks, and merchants, but there were also a few listed as gardeners and railroad laborers, a restaurant keeper, a peddler, a barber, and an inmate of the Salt Lake County Infirmary on State Street. In the mining town of Bingham were 26 Chinese residents; almost all worked as cooks but a few were restaurant keepers and laundrymen. Those outside of urban areas or mining and rail camps, such as residents of Salt Lake's Farmer Precinct, Mill Creek, and Sugar House, were mostly farmers or gardeners, and two were inmates at the prison in Sugar House (Sugar Precinct).

[10] As Jones (2015:Box 1, Folder 1) reminds us, "Sanborn maps [of the period] show evidence of [the] rural, agricultural nature of Salt Lake City's landscape: cultivated fields, vegetable gardens, orchards, corrals, shed, barns, cellars, hay sheds, coops, poultry yards."

Mercur, a mining town in Tooele County, had the fourth-largest Chinese population in the state in 1900. A prominent resident was Sam Wing, a renowned local physician practicing Chinese herbal medicine who attended to both the Chinese and Euro-American residents. He and his wife Maile (Molly) had emigrated in 1869 and 1870, respectively, and lived on Main Street (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]). According to Evalee McBride Fackrell, they had "a beautiful little home, just a little home – with two rooms, and the men that run the laundry lived back further… they had their laundry in the back part of the home" (Evalee McBride Fackrell in Conley 2015). Wing likely began life in the United States as a railroad laborer and may then have moved to Silver Reef, where a Sam Wing operated a wash house in 1882. Eventually Maile returned to China to rejoin her children, and Wing moved to Salt Lake City where "he ran the Chinese Herbal Medicine Store near the Salt Lake railroad terminal. Whether he ever returned to China is not known" (Conley 2015).

Other Chinese were more isolated, working alone or in small groups, and most often as cooks in mining or railroad towns. Rich County's lone Chinese resident, Tom Lawyd, had emigrated in 1890 and was listed as a cook for the Eastman Ranch in both 1900 and 1910 (Ancestry 2015b, 2015c [1900 and 1910 U.S. Census]).

Table 3. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1900 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City Ward 5	142
	Salt Lake City Ward 3	35
	Salt Lake City Ward 2	26
	Salt Lake City Ward 1	8
	Salt Lake City Ward 4	2
	Bingham	26
	Farmer Precinct	16
	Mill Creek	6
	Sugar House	4
	Murray	2
	Little Cottonwood	1
	Silver	1
	Sugar	1
	SUBTOTAL	*270*
Weber	Ogden (Wards 1–4)	84
Summit	Park City	74
Tooele	Mercur	50
	Stockton	5
	Ophir	2
	SUBTOTAL	*57*

Table 3. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1900 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Juab	Eureka	14
	Mammoth	10
	Silver City	3
	Diamond	2
	SUBTOTAL	*29*
Box Elder	Snowville	9
	Rawlins	7
	Promontory	6
	Grouse Creek	2
	Junction	1
	Union	1
	SUBTOTAL	*26*
Davis	Clinton	3
	Kaysville	2
	South Precinct	1
	SUBTOTAL	*6*
Uintah	Fort Duchesne	5
Utah	Provo	2
	American Fork	1
	Thistle	1
	SUBTOTAL	*4*
Carbon	Helper	4
Beaver	Grampion	4
Wasatch	Elkhorn Precinct	2
	Midway	1
	SUBTOTAL	*3*
Iron	State Line	3
Cache	Logan	1
Emery	Green River	1
Rich	Woodruff	1
	TOTAL	**571**

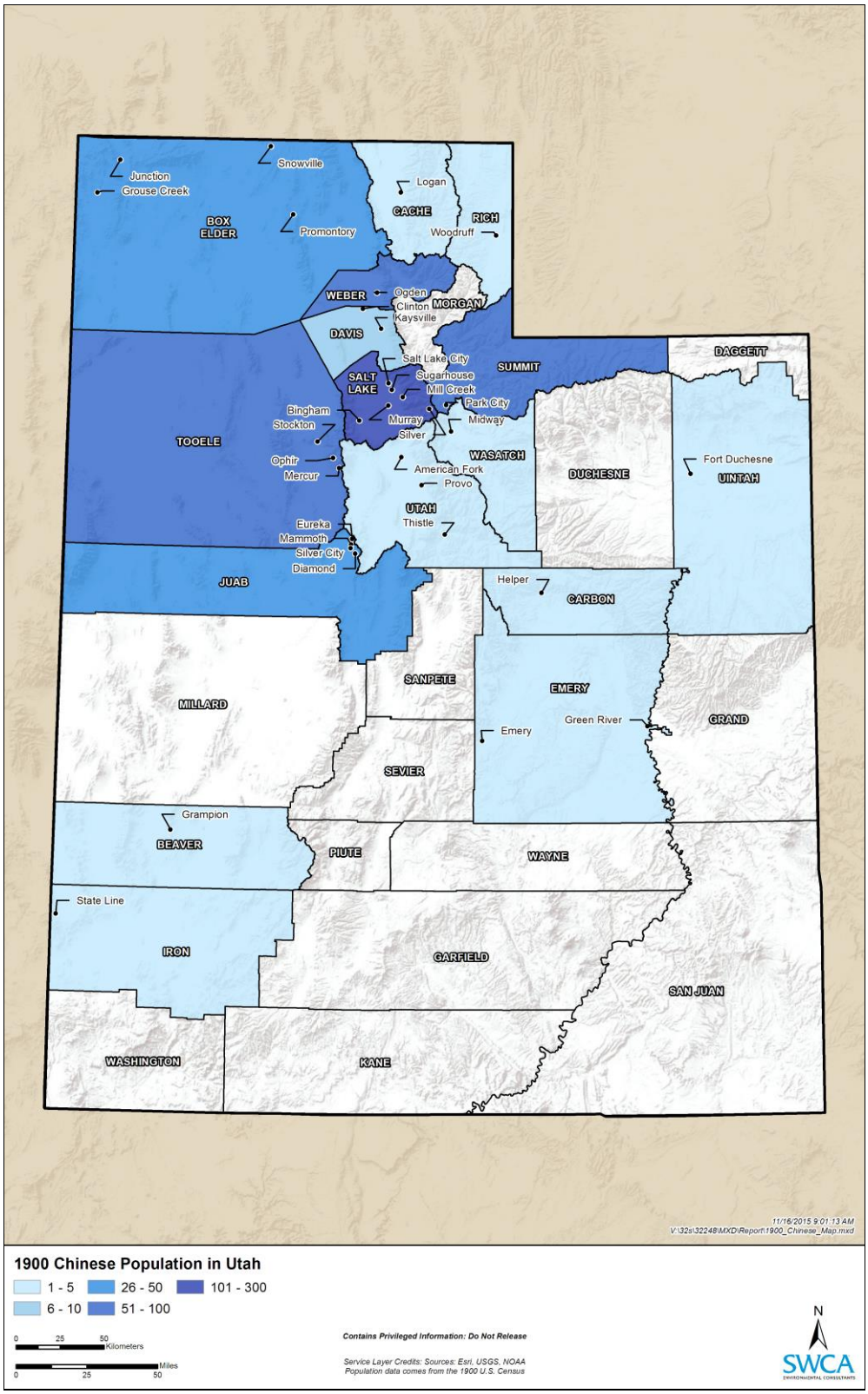

Figure 5. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1900 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents in stations, section camps, or outlying areas.

By the 1910 U.S. Census, Utah's Chinese population had diminished by about 80 people to 432, and was further condensed into cities. Most still lived in Salt Lake County, particularly in Salt Lake City (274) (Table 4 and Figure 6). As in 1900, most lived in the Salt Lake City's 5th and 2nd Wards, although a number were also living in the Farmer Precinct south of 900 South. A number were also still living in Bingham and Alta, where they worked as cooks and laundrymen for the miners. Only 30 of Utah's Chinese were female, including women and children, and all but four lived in Salt Lake City. Three women lived in Ogden and one in Mercur (this was Maile, Sam Wing's wife).

The second-highest population of Utah's Chinese was in Ogden, where 94 people lived mostly in Wards 1 and 2 around 25th Street. In Ward 1, 35 individuals were listed together in what was presumably a Chinatown boardinghouse or tenement; they had urban occupations similar to those of Salt Lake City's Chinese residents. In Ward 2, 19 men living in three households on 25th Street were described as "servants." The residents of Ogden Wards 3, 4, and 5 were all gardeners or farm laborers (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

Park City also retained a relatively large Chinese community; those listed in the census were all male. The Rossie Hill enumeration district, which included Chinatown at the foot of the hill, listed 11 Chinese lodging with Ching Ah and working as laborers, cooks, and a waiter. Most of these men had emigrated in the 1880s, with two arriving in the United States in 1900. Five were living at the Little Bell Mine boardinghouse and were relatively recent immigrants, arriving between 1900 and 1906. Five more lived in Empire Canyon and worked as cooks and servants: one was a second-generation Chinese-American born in California to California-born parents, one had emigrated in 1889, and three had emigrated in 1900 (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

Chinese communities and individuals could also be found in Juab, Carbon, Davis, Rich, Tooele, Beaver, Utah, and Uintah Counties. Charlie Kidd was perhaps the earliest Chinese immigrant to the United States living in Utah at the time; he had arrived 1866 as a 12-year-old boy. In 1910 he lived in Eureka on his "Own Income" and lodged with Henry Bawson, a carpenter of the same age (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

Table 4. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City (mainly Wards 2 and 5)	274
	Bingham	10
	Alta	3
	SUBTOTAL	*287*
Weber	Ogden (mainly Wards 1 and 2)	94
Summit	Park City	21
Tooele	Mercur	7
	Vernon	3
	SUBTOTAL	*10*
Juab	Eureka	5
	Mammoth	1
	SUBTOTAL	*6*
Utah	Provo	4

Table 4. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District		Number of Chinese Residents
Uintah	Fort Duchesne		4
Carbon	Helper		2
	Price		1
		SUBTOTAL	*3*
Beaver	Star		2
Rich	Woodruff		1
		TOTAL	**432**

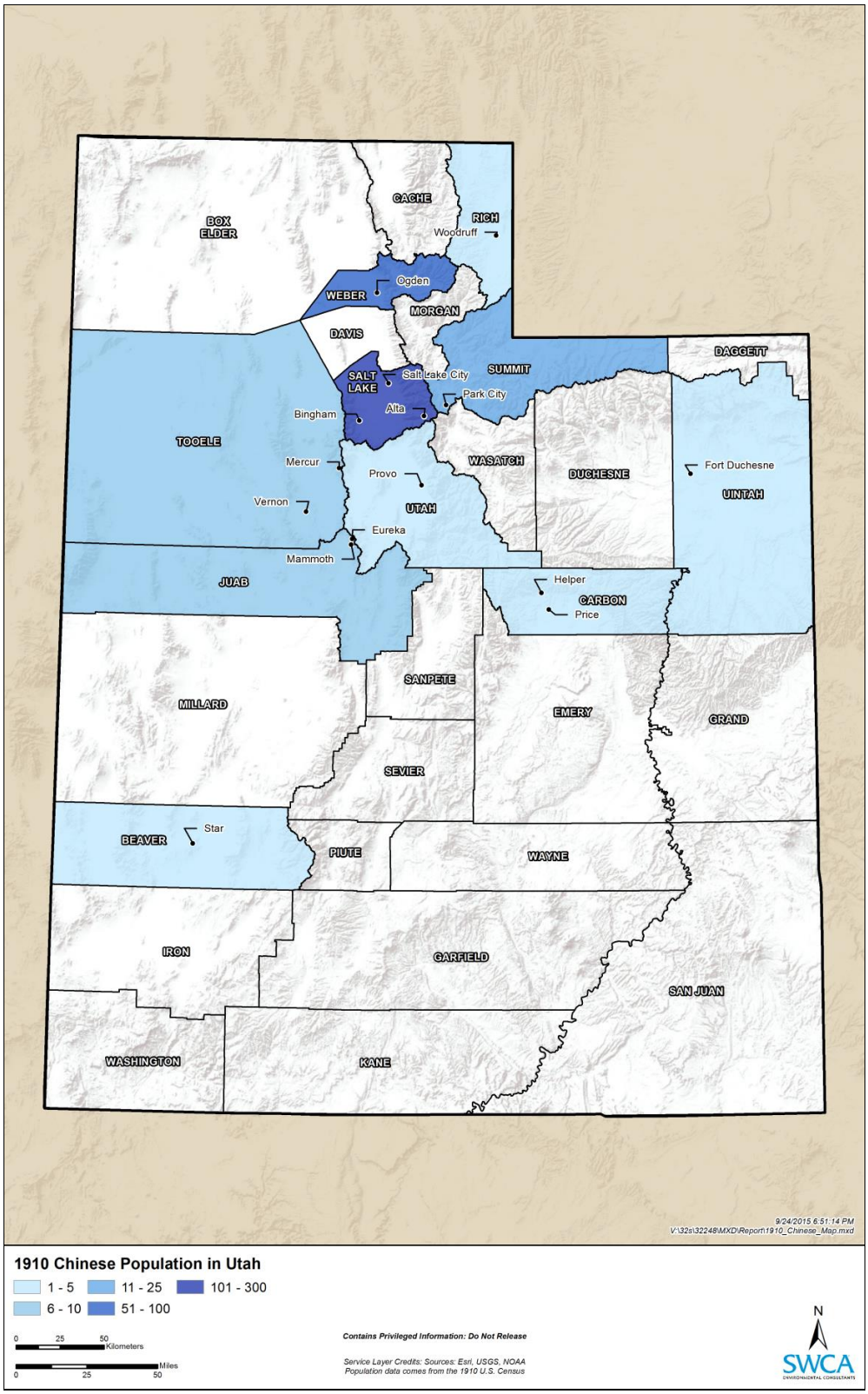

Figure 6. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1910 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents in outlying areas.

2.1.1.3. DEPOPULATION AND THE DECLINE OF UTAH'S CHINATOWNS, 1917–1951

The Chinese population in Utah started decreasing steadily in the 1890s, and this pattern continued through 1920. The decline was caused by a variety of factors, including legislative restrictions on immigration, the return of Chinese "sojourners" to homes and families in China, and the relocation of those remaining in the United States to stronger communities or to join family members in other parts of the country, particularly California (Liestman 1996:94). Economic and technological changes also endangered industries traditionally dominated by the Chinese, particularly the laundry business. Large steam laundries owned by whites increasingly competed with smaller Chinese-owned businesses after 1900 (Lansing 2004:224). By the 1930 census, no Chinese in Salt Lake County were listed with occupations relating to the laundry business. For railroad communities like Corinne, shifts in railroad routes spelled an end for the towns. Economic downturns in mining communities like Park City and Silver Reef also severely diminished the demand for the services many Chinese businesses provided. And the arrival of new immigrant groups, such as the Greeks and Japanese, caused economic displacement, particularly in areas such as railroad, mining, and agricultural work (Liestman 1996:94).

Perhaps most crucial was the fact that so few stable family groups were formed as a result of the long-standing legal and cultural restrictions that prevented Chinese wives and family members from joining men in Utah. Most of the male emigrants were of the Chinese peasant classes, and it was typically only wives of the merchant class who were permitted to emigrate and join their husbands in America (Liestman 1996). Other important factors contributed to the gender imbalance, like the expense of the journey, the difficulties and discrimination associated with Chinese life in America, the lack of work opportunities for women, and, not least, the customary role of women in China, which dictated that women care for children and the extended family, including the husband's parents (Brownstone 1988). All of these factors combined to prevent the establishment of families among the Chinese in Utah, significantly affecting the long-term social and financial stability of the population. And finally, alien laws preventing property ownership by the Chinese severely restricted economic advancement and stability; this was compounded by the lack of American-born children who would be eligible for property ownership. By contrast, family groups outside of Chinatowns were often in a better position to improve their socio-economic status, "Americanize," accumulate property, and assimilate with the mainstream population.

Many Chinese had left Utah and the United States after the passage of Chinese Exclusion Acts, and after 1900 two new acts further tightened the existing limitations. The 1917 Immigration Act (also known as the Asiatic Barred Zone Act) was passed to restrict the immigration of "undesirables." This law established classes of potential immigrants (a strangely comprehensive list that included idiots, alcoholics, polygamists, anarchists, and vagrants) that would be denied entry into the United States. In addition, anyone over the age of 16 who was illiterate would also be denied entry. Most importantly, the act continued to bar immigration from China and expanded these restrictions to include most of Asia and the Pacific Islands (U.S. Department of State 2015c).

Restrictions were tightened even further under the Immigration Act of 1924, also known as the Johnson-Reed Act, which was created to limit "the number of immigrants allowed entry into the United States through a national origins quota" (U.S. Department of State 2015c). The quotas were changed to 2 percent of the foreign-born population present in the United States in 1890. Given how few native Chinese were living in the United States at that time, the quotas were very low. In addition, the act included a provision "excluding from entry any alien who by virtue of race or nationality was ineligible for citizenship," which meant, due to existing nationality laws that "excluded people of Asian lineage from naturalizing," no Asians would be admitted to the United States (U.S. Department of State 2015c).

Although they had a lesser effect on Utah's Chinese population, local laws also often targeted the population. As Daniel Liestman observed in "Utah's Chinatowns," "Local statutes…did little to directly impede the movements of Chinese…. Rather, they articulated an anti-Chinese attitude that continued to remind the Chinese they were not welcome" (Liestman 1996:93).

The steady decline in the Chinese is evident in the 1920 U.S. Census, when 348 Chinese were counted in Utah; only 29 were female, a number of whom were children (Table 5 and Figure 7). The population had further contracted to urban areas, and occupations remained the same. However, some Chinese had become "old-timers" and established members of the small communities in which they lived. One example is Wong Sing, who began operating a laundry at Fort Duchesne in 1889. After the fort was decommissioned in 1912, he remained in the area and through the years expanded his business into a general merchandise store, which handled "furniture, ready-to-wear, meat, and groceries and acted as general agent for machinery companies and other firms" (Conley 2015). Wong Sing was highly regarded for his patience, kindness, and generosity, not only by the Euro-American residents but by the Utes, whose language he learned to speak. He lived in Uintah County and operated the store with his nephew until 1934, when he was killed in an auto accident (Ancestry 2015d, 2015e [1920 and 1930 U.S. Census]; Conley 2015).

Table 5. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	204
	Bingham	2
	SUBTOTAL	*206*
Weber	Ogden	95
Carbon	Helper	8
	Price	4
	Rains	4
	SUBTOTAL	*16*
Summit	Park City	12
Tooele	Sunshine	4
	Gold Hill	1
	SUBTOTAL	*5*
Juab	Eureka	5
Utah	Provo	3
Grand	Moab	2
	Thompson	1
	SUBTOTAL	*3*
Uintah	Randlett	2
Wasatch	Soldier Summit	1
	TOTAL	**348**

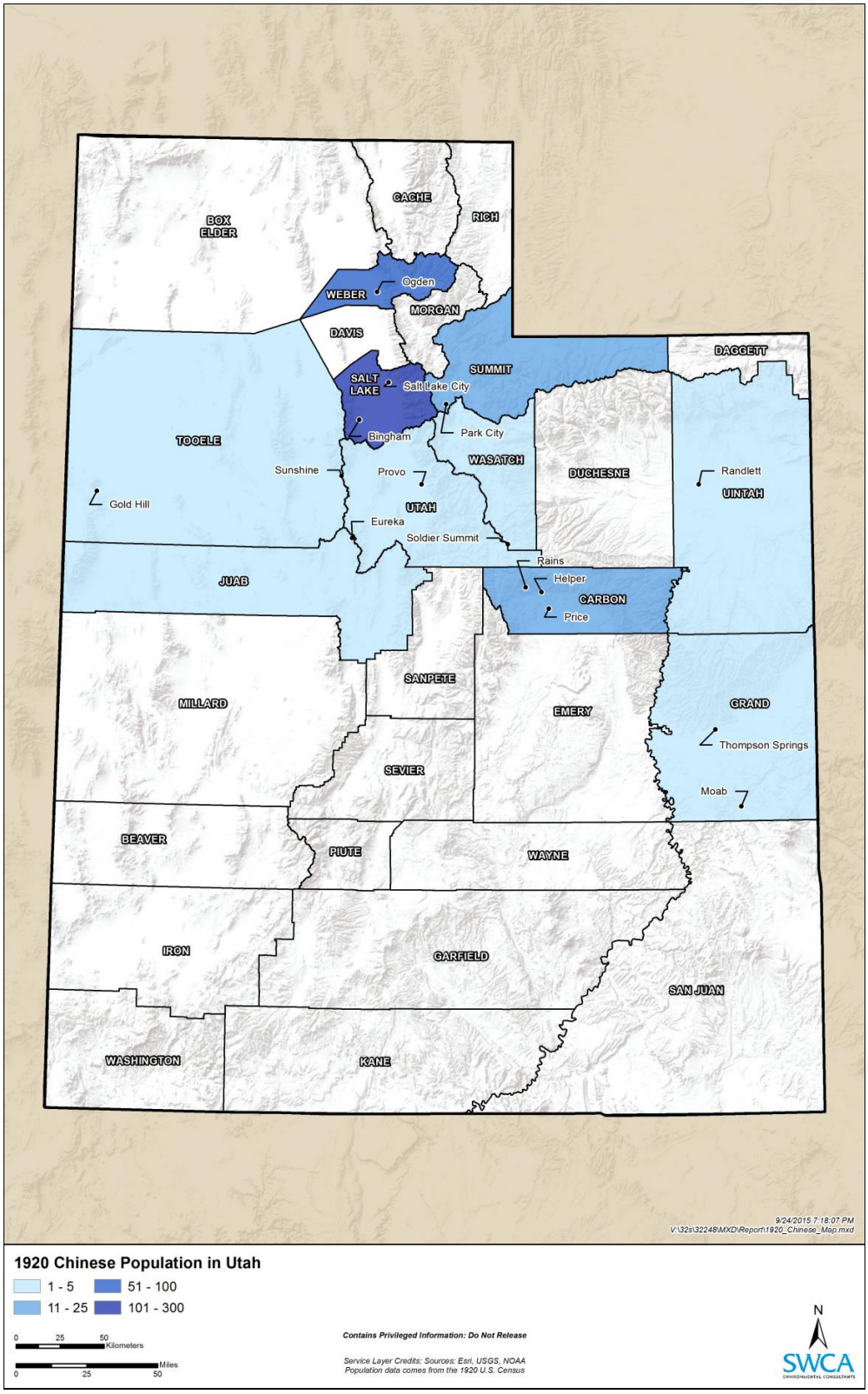

Figure 7. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1920 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents in outlying areas.

The Chinese population remained static between 1920 and 1930, by which time approximately 342 Chinese lived in Utah. Of those residents, 94 were Chinese-American, born primarily in California or Hawaii Territory. Many were also born in Utah, although these were nearly all young children. Of the 342 Chinese residents of Utah, 62 were female, a 50 percent increase since 1920. Many of these females were American-born children; only 16 were adult-aged women born in China.

Most of Utah's Chinese population in 1930 (196, or 57 percent) lived in Salt Lake County (Table 6). People could be found in many different living situations and social ranks. For example, of the Salt Lake County residents, 95 lived in Plum Alley (87 men and eight women). Nearly all of this cohort lived among nine rooming houses, and most worked in the usual occupations of cook, boardinghouse keeper, waiter, merchant, farmhand, or gardener. Some were unemployed, perhaps retired. Most were born in China, and had emigrated between 1880 and 1900, with a few outliers arriving in the 1910s and 1920s. Several were born in China to parents who had been born in California, illustrating the back-and-forth migration pattern of many multi-generational Chinese-American families. Almost none had attended school, but all could read and write, as well as speak English.

In sharp contrast were the Kings, who owned a house valued at $6,000 on 920 East 300 South (since demolished). At the time of the 1930 census, Ruth M. King was 60-year-old widow (born in the United States to U.S.-born parents) who had married Charles King, a Chinese man born in China (Figure 8). She lived with her four unmarried children (two sons and two daughters) who ranged in age from 23 to 30. One son was a doctor, one daughter was a newspaper reporter, and the other two were the manager and assistant manager of the family's novelty shop. The Kings had eight Chinese neighbors, all living at 905 East 300 South in the house of Walter Lowe, a Chinese man, and all working in a "dry goods store," perhaps that of the Kings (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).[11]

Figure 8. The King family in an undated photograph. In the front are Dr. Ernest King, father Charles and mother Ruth, and Raymond. In the rear are Lily, Walter, and Dr. Ruth King. The King family sold Chinese goods and repaired china dolls in their King Doll Hospital (location uncertain). Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

[11] This corresponds with the present site of a brick bungalow just east of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. Across the street is the Rose Laundry, which appears to be a historic brick house beneath multiple additions and layers of stucco.

Other Chinese residents achieved a more moderate standard of living. One example is a household in Ward 2, in which a married couple, Ching Jung Chy and Lung See Chy, rented a home at 41 West 100 South (also since demolished) and lived there with their three young daughters (ages 1 to 6) and a 10-year-old son. Both the husband (age 62) and wife (age 36) were immigrants, arriving in 1880 and 1921 respectively; the family owned a café. Typical of many Chinese households of the time, they had two boarders living with them (a cook and a dishwasher), who had emigrated from China in the 1920s (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

The remainder of Salt Lake City's Chinese residents lived mainly in rural areas south of town. The census records 26 truck farmers living in Precinct 2 (Farmer Precinct), in the area around 2700 South and 200 West. On the west side of Salt Lake County, two Chinese men worked as cooks at the Copperfield Boardinghouse, and five lived and worked in Bingham (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

Ogden's Chinese population had declined by about 20 people since 1920 while Park City's had increased by about the same amount (Figure 9). At least 21 people from two large families were distributed between two households in Park City's Chinatown while the remainder lived nearby.[12]

Table 6. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents	Occupations
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	189	Tremendous range in occupations
	Bingham	5	Café proprietor Miner Cook Unlisted
	Copperfield (Precinct 10)	2	Cook
	SUBTOTAL	*196*	
Weber	Ogden (Wards 1–4)	78	Cook Grocery store operator Chinese store operator Café/restaurant proprietor Waiter Farm laborer Merchant Truck farmer
	West Warren	2	Railroad cooks for Southern Pacific Railroad
	Wilson	2	Truck farmer Farm laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*82*	
Summit	Park City	34	Café proprietor Cook Dishwasher Waiter Dishwasher Laundryman "Capitalist—Real Estate"

[12] Park City street addresses with Chinese residents included 186 Main St., 338 Main St., 360 Main St. (six unrelated men), 364 China Town, 406 Chinatown, 339 Park Ave. (a family of four headed by Charley Choung, the proprietor of the Senate Café in Park City, see Park City Municipal Corporation, Historic Site Form, 2008), and 224 Grant Ave. (the home of an 88-year old lodger who had emigrated in 1878). Choung's house at 339 Park remains today while the others have been demolished or significantly altered.

Table 6. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents	Occupations
Tooele	Burmester	5	Railroad cooks
	Topliff	3	Quarryman Waiter Cook
	Grantsville	2	Cooks
	Tooele	1	Waiter at Grill Café, Main St.
	SUBTOTAL	*11*	
Utah	Provo	7	Utah State Hospital patients Café manager Waiter Cook
Box Elder	Booth Valley	3	Cooks Waiter
	Lucin	3	Cooks Waiter
	Curlew	1	Railroad cook
	SUBTOTAL	*7*	
Uintah	Moffat	2	Mercantile store operators
Juab	Eureka	1	Laundryman
Grand	Sego	1	Boardinghouse cook
Carbon	Standardville	1	Boardinghouse cook
	TOTAL	**342**	

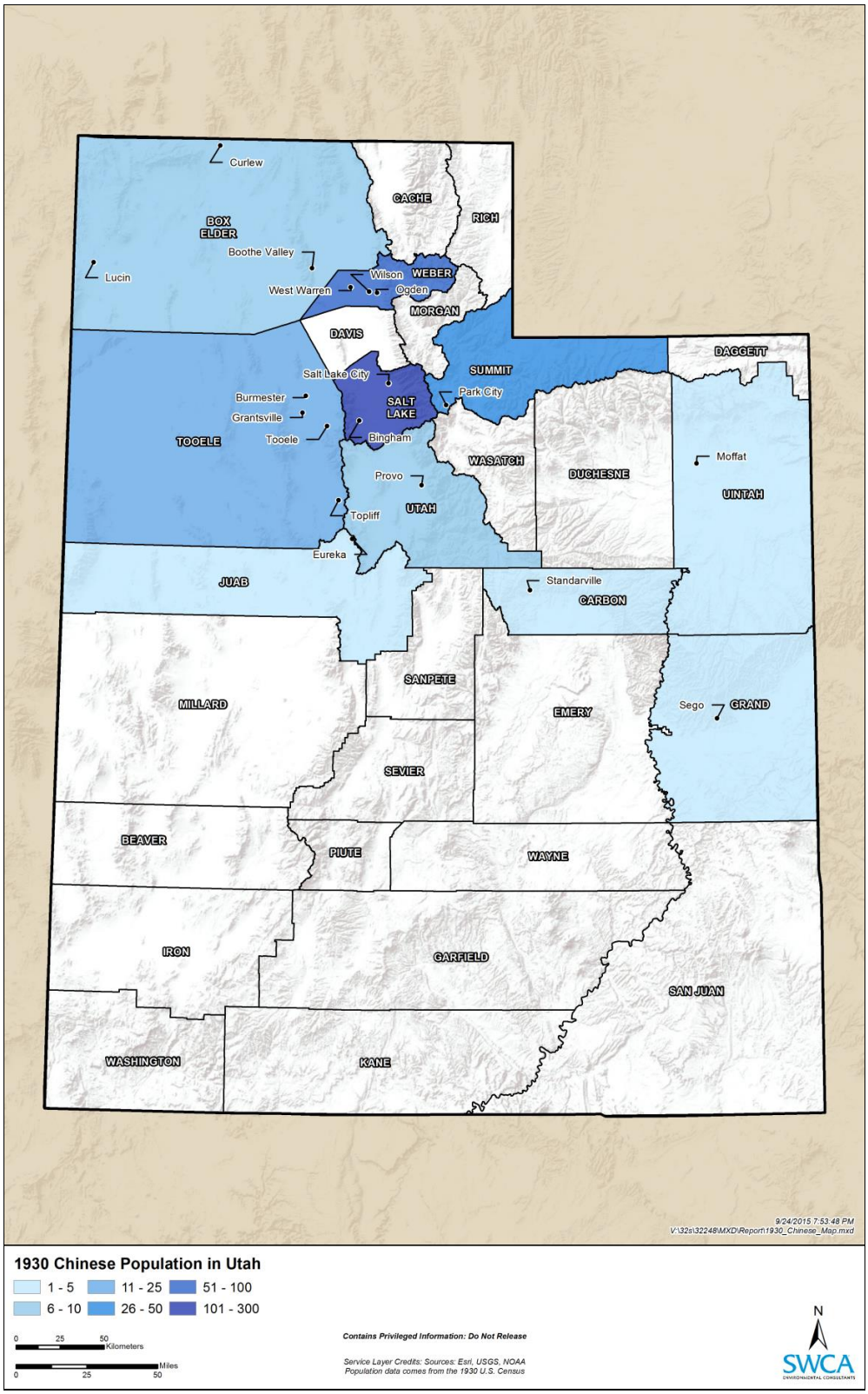

Figure 9. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1930 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Chinese residents or were the nearest post office for Chinese residents in outlying areas.

By 1940, Utah's Chinese population had dropped to 212 people (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]) (Table 7 and Figure 10). Among the larger, more urban populations, Salt Lake City's had dropped by half, to about 100 people; Ogden's had dropped from 78 to 55; and Park City's had dropped from 34 to 21. Utah's Chinatowns continued to decline in the face of increasing economic and legal pressures, a state of affairs further exacerbated by depopulation. Physical encroachment was a final factor, particularly in Salt Lake City. Buildings in the city's Chinatown had been torn down as early as the 1880s, but much of Plum Alley survived well into the twentieth century. However, by 1940, when the final operating tenement in Chinatown was closed, the end was sealed. In 1952, the remaining buildings were razed and replaced with a parking lot (Liestman 1996:94-95).

Populations in more rural areas had also sharply diminished. In 1930, 26 truck farmers were living and working in the South Salt Lake area. By 1940 only two large families remained: Eugene Jugin was a farmer working on his own account, living at 2219 South 400 East with his wife Grah and six Utah-born children, while Ja Joy was a truck farmer working on his own account, living at 2509 South 200 West with his wife Leeshe and their eight Utah-born children (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]).

Little has been recorded about the experience of Utah's Chinese and Chinese-American residents during World War II. Conley (2015) reports that most of the eligible Chinese men served with the armed forces, including 12 in overseas units. Upon their return, many took advantage of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the G.I. Bill) to attend college (Conley 2015), although discriminatory laws not revoked until the 1950s likely prevented Chinese-American veterans from securing low-interest mortgages for homes or loans for businesses.

Even though Chinatowns had been lost by the 1950s, Chinese cultural and economic associations continued to operate in Utah. The oldest, Bing Kong Tong, was founded in the 1890s and is still extant in Salt Lake City (Cheng 1999:53). By the 1970s, the function of the tong had evolved to provide translating and letter writing services, legal help, job placement, and a meeting place for new immigrants (Conley 2015).

Table 7. The Distribution of Utah's Chinese Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Chinese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	98
	South Salt Lake	19
	SUBTOTAL	*117*
Weber	Ogden	55
Summit	Park City	21
Tooele	Tooele	9
Duchesne	Altonah	4
Uintah	Ballard	4
Utah	Provo	2
	TOTAL	**212**

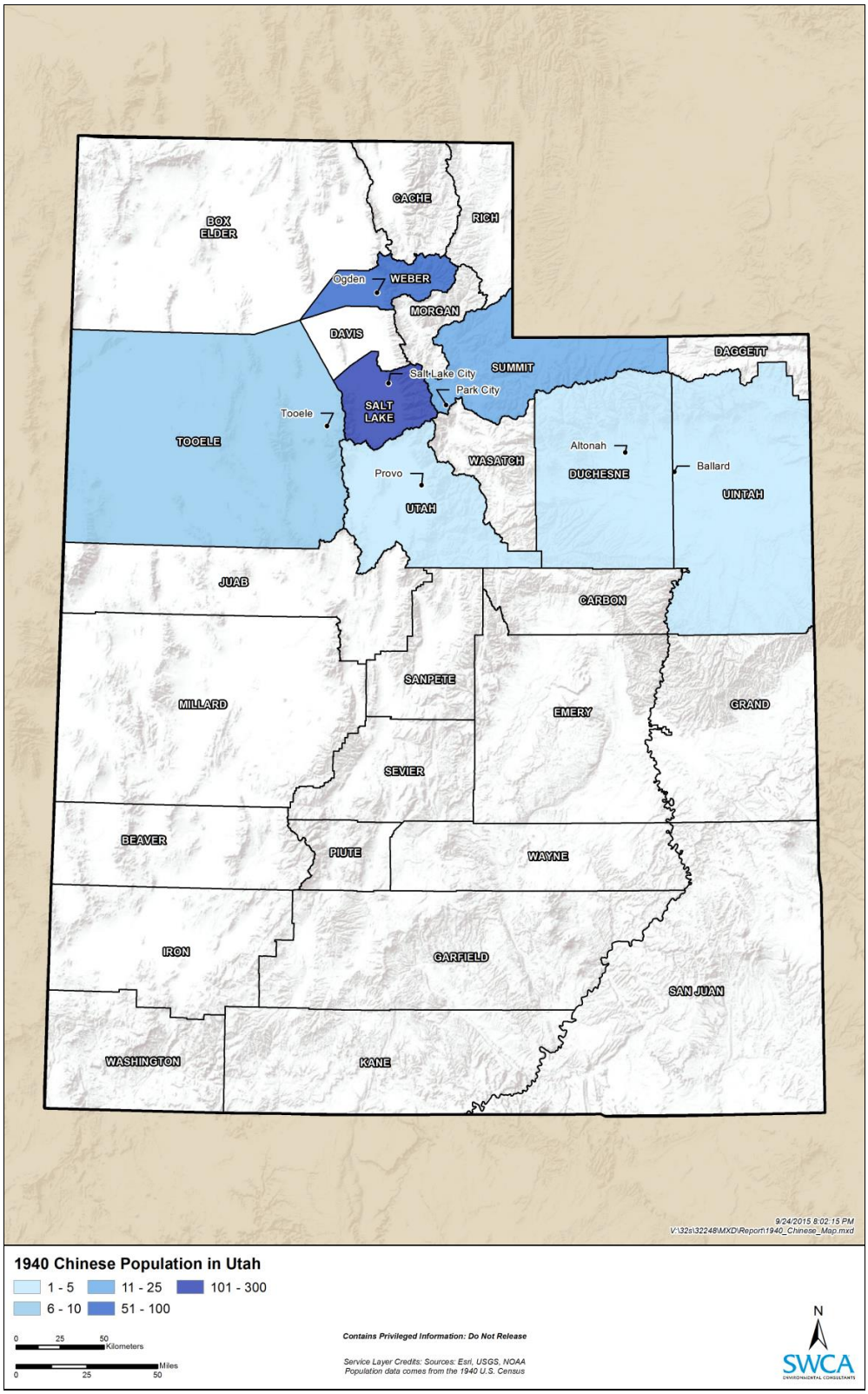

Figure 10. Distribution of Utah's Chinese population at the time of the 1940 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Chinese residents.

2.1.1.4. CHANGING LAWS AND NEW IMMIGRATION, 1952–1970

Limited secondary-source literature exists detailing the history of Utah's Chinese and Chinese-American community after World War II and the loss of the Chinatowns. Patterns evident in 1940 likely continued, with some multigenerational families thriving while the aging male immigrant population continued to decline in numbers. And, although significant changes occurred to long-standing legal restrictions on Asian immigration during this time, it was likely not until the 1960s that new patterns of Chinese emigration to Utah emerged.

In 1943 the Chinese Exclusion Act was repealed, although this had little immediate effect on population numbers because immigration quotas were left in place. It is unlikely that the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (also known as the McCarran-Walter Act) had much impact either; it removed all racial restrictions on immigration but retained quotas based on nationality and regions, which allowed for one-sixth of one percent of each nationality's population in the United States in 1920; for the Chinese this would have been a very small number (U.S. Department of State 2015d). The Chinese Revolution of 1949 and the establishment of a communist government led to the suspension of diplomatic ties between the United States and mainland China for decades, and it seems likely that the only new Chinese immigrants during this period were political refugees, a category allowed under the act, and others coming from Taiwan, now the seat of government for the U.S.-recognized Republic of China.

It was not until the passage of the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (also known as the Hart-Celler Act) that the national origins quota system was finally abolished (U.S. Department of State 2015a). A new wave of immigrants came to Utah from Taiwan in the 1960s, and by 1970 Utah's Chinese population numbered 1,281 people (Conley 2015). This included an increase in Taiwanese students at many of the state's universities, including the University of Utah, Utah State University, and Brigham Young University (Cheng 1999:53, 59). How this new population interacted and integrated with the Chinese-American population already in the state is a topic for further study. At least some new immigrants were descendants of those who came to America with the first wave in the late nineteenth century but had either returned to China or those whose family line had not continued in the United States (Ken Cannon, President, Utah State University Archaeological Services, Inc., Logan, Utah, personal communication to Anne Oliver, SWCA, 2015).

Figure 11. An undated photograph of Mr. Nakagi, the Sunnyside Coal Camp boss, and his family. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

2.1.2. Japanese

In 1853, Commodore Matthew Perry's incursion into the Bay of Yedo marked the end of Japan's centuries-old isolationist policies, forcing the opening of diplomatic and trade relations with the United States. In the ensuing years Japan sought to modernize and establish ties with the outside world, sending delegations to various countries to gather information and establish diplomatic relationships. Japan's first diplomatic visit to Utah, however, was an accident. On February 4, 1872, the Iwakura Mission, a delegation of more than 100 Japanese officials and students, was forced to stop in Ogden after heavy snow closed the train tracks farther east. With time on their hands, the delegation made an "unscheduled detour to Salt Lake City where they would stay for nearly three weeks" (Collinwood et al. 1996:1). They stayed at the Townsend House and were treated to a variety of parties, events, and activities. They also met with high-ranking politicians and society members, including Brigham Young. The extended visit by the delegation made news across the country and left a positive impression on both the Japanese delegation and the Utahns they met, and it also opened up the possibilities of the LDS Church sending missionaries to Japan and of Japanese people emigrating to Utah (Collinwood et al. 1996:1–3).

2.1.2.1. EARLY IMMIGRATION, 1884–1900

Although emigration did not begin immediately, conditions in Japan around 1880 encouraged it. Modernization efforts under the Meiji Restoration left many former samurai without livelihoods, and unemployment and unrest also increased the economic distress of many Japanese. Often emigrants hailed from the poorest areas of Japan and went to America intending to earn money to buy land before returning home, although many also came from skilled professions and educated backgrounds (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015) (Figure 11).

The passage of the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 was in many ways timed ideally to encourage Japanese immigration. In addition to poor economic circumstances and the almost-simultaneous loosening of emigration restrictions in Japan in 1885, the Chinese Exclusion Act severely limited the numbers of Chinese immigrant laborers who had previously formed a vital component of railroad section workers. Japanese workers were brought in to replace them on the railroads; as with the Chinese, the population was entirely male, largely unsettled, and mostly unmarried (Kasai 1975:7). Other factors also made way

for the early Japanese immigrants to take up railroad work. Swelling anti-Chinese riots, notably in Rock Springs and Evanston, Wyoming, and even in the mines in Carbon County, Utah, convinced many Chinese laborers to return to California or seek other types of work, leaving a void in railroad work filled in part by Japanese immigrants (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015).

The earliest known immigration of Japanese people to Utah occurred in 1884 (Kasai 1999:125), although the 1900 census is the first that records their presence in the state (Table 8 and Figure 12). Census rolls list 432 Japanese, who are almost exclusively men; most were living in section camps along rail lines in Carbon, Emery, and Grand Counties. The 215 men in these camps were listed on a separate set of census sheets (Enumeration District 216) by E. D. Hashimoto, who was just beginning his career as a labor agent (see below). Of this cohort, many arrived around 1900, and most were between 11 and 39 years old. Japanese residents could be found in other counties as well, working almost exclusively on the railroads. The 10 Japanese women in the state lived in downtown Salt Lake City in and around Plum Alley and State Street. The women were always listed as the head of household and usually lived in groups of two or three with a male Japanese servant. Only one woman, Katie Jap, provided information on her occupation, which was euphemistically described as "Sporting Life." She had immigrated in 1894 and lived at 125 N. State Street (Ancestry 2015b [1900 U.S. Census]). One Japanese man living in Utah at the time was Patrick Davis, a cook at the St. James Hotel on South Temple; he had arrived in the United States in 1875, making him perhaps one of the earliest Japanese immigrants to the country.

Table 8. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1900 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Towns/Cities
Carbon	Enumeration District 216 (section camps at Willow Creek, Scofield, Castle Gate, Hales, Helper, Price, and Farnham)	104	Railroad laborer
	Price	18	Railroad/section laborer
	Scofield	14	Railroad section hand
	SUBTOTAL	*136*	
Grand	Enumeration District 216 (section camps at Thompsons, Little Grande, Sagers, White House, Cottonwood, and Cisco)	56	Railroad laborer
	Cisco	27	Railroad laborer
	Thompson	22	Railroad laborer
	Elgin	15	Railroad laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*120*	
Emery	Enumeration District 216 (section camps at Mounds, Cedar, Woodside, and Green River)	55	Railroad laborer
	Woodside	15	Railroad section hand
	SUBTOTAL	*70*	
Summit	Castle Rock	27	Railroad section laborers
	Echo	18	"Railroaders"
	SUBTOTAL	*45*	

Table 8. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1900 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Towns/Cities
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	24 (10 women)	Servants Hotel cooks No occupation "Sporting Life"
Morgan	Peterson	12	Railroad laborers
	Morgan	5	Railroad laborers
	SUBTOTAL	*17*	
Weber	Uinta	11	Railroad laborers
	Ogden	6	Hospital patient (1) Cook (1) Bamboo furniture manufacturer (1) "Unlisted" (1) Railroad worker (2)
	SUBTOTAL	*17*	
Utah	Provo	2	Cook Houseboy
Cache	Logan	1	Cook for hotel
	TOTAL	**432**	

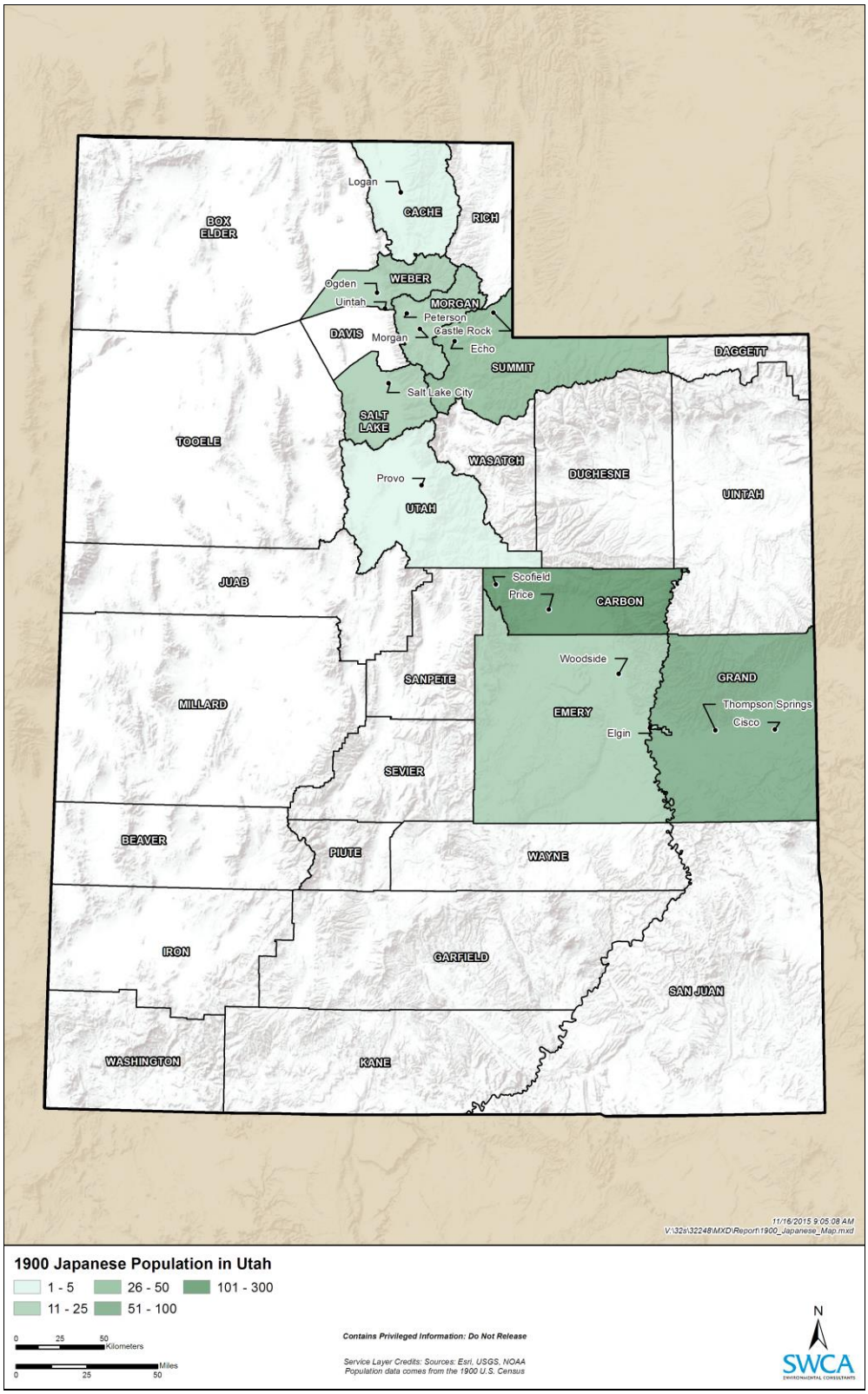

Figure 12. Distribution of Utah's Japanese population at the time of the 1900 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Japanese residents or were the nearest post office for Japanese residents in outlying areas.

2.1.2.2. ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMUNITIES, 1901–1913

The Japanese often relied on agents to help them emigrate and to find work. In Utah, that role was filled in part by the E. D. Hashimoto Company, founded in 1902 by Edward Daigoro Hashimoto and originally located at 163 West South Temple in Salt Lake City. The company provided important services for Japanese immigrants, including finding them railroad work and offering Japanese foods and even payroll and work document services (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015). Hashimoto was the patriarch of a notable Utah family, and he built a fine bungalow with Japanese details on Salt Lake's east bench in 1908 that stands today (Figure 13). Others included Harry R. Ishinin, who was listed in the 1902 Ogden City Directory as an "employment agent" living at 151–157 24th St. (now a park); he was listed in the 1900 census as a manufacturer of bamboo furniture. The 1910 census also lists Kusakie Kasuya, who was living in Lewiston, Cache County, and working as a "Contractor, Overseas, Beet and Rail" (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

Figure 13. The E. D. Hashimoto house at 315 South 1200 East in Salt Lake City in 2015. The house, built in 1908, retains many of its original details and early additions.

Until approximately 1915, railroad work was a primary source of employment in the Japanese community, both in remote and urban areas. This is illustrated by a 1911 Sanborn map that shows a Japanese section camp in Salt Lake City at the southwest corner of North Temple and 400 West (now 500 West) (Sanborn 1911:Sheet 51). Japanese railroad workers were often "less welcome" than their counterparts doing farm work, but their dependability was acknowledged and many Japanese section workers rose to the level of foreman (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015). As new immigrant groups, particularly Greeks and Italians, arrived after 1900 and began to replace Japanese railroad workers, many Japanese laborers shifted to the mining industry, particularly in Carbon County. These miners worked for the Utah Fuel Company mines and other coal mines in the area. Japanese miners also worked as bank men and in other jobs for the Bingham area copper mines, mills, and smelters in Salt Lake County. Many ethnic groups were employed by the mines, and Japanese workers were not free from discrimination within that cohort. For example, the discrepancy in pay for the Japanese bank men, who were paid higher wages for doing the most hazardous job and lower-paid Greek workers led, in part, to a strike by Greeks in 1912 (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015). The various mining settlements were often segregated by ethnic group and commonly included Japanese sections of town, official Japanese camps, and even separate social halls (Notarianni 1979:183–184).

After 1900, many Japanese had moved to the urban centers of Salt Lake City and Ogden. By 1902, Salt Lake City enjoyed a growing Japanese Town bounded by South Temple, State Street, 300 South, and 700 West. Over the subsequent decades, Japanese Town expanded to feature several stores (including E. D. Hashimoto's), as well as boardinghouses for immigrants looking for work, laundries and dry cleaners, a noodle shop on West Temple, a tofu factory, and both Christian and Buddhist churches (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015).[13] Ogden's Japanese population blossomed from six people in 1900 to more than 400 in 1910; many lived along 25th Street in the same area as the Chinese (Ancestry 2015b, 2015c [1900 and 1910 U.S. Census]).

In 1907, however, immigration to the United States was severely curtailed by the so-called Gentleman's Agreement between the United States and Japan. A treaty in 1894 had assured the free immigration of Japanese to the United States, but the subsequent rate of immigration to California, estimated at 1,000 arrivals monthly in the early 1900s, alarmed many of the state's residents and inflamed nativist sentiment. In turn, subsequent racial antagonism and discrimination against Japanese residents (including the proposed segregation of Japanese and Korean schoolchildren in San Francisco) had deeply offended the Japanese government (Foner and Garraty 1991). To calm the growing tensions, Japan formally agreed not to issue passports for laborers going to America and recognized America's right to exclude Japanese laborers entering indirectly from other countries, and also Hawaii. The San Francisco school board rescinded the segregation order (Foner and Garraty 1991; History 2015). Importantly, although the agreement reduced labor immigration, it allowed for the continued immigration of wives and other family members (Kasai 1999:128).

The 1910 census provides a detailed view of living and working patterns during the middle of this period (Table 9 and Figure 14). The number of Japanese residents in Utah had increased dramatically from about 500 in 1900 to over 2,000 in 1910; this included only about 100 Japanese women and 20 daughters born in the United States between 1902 and 1910. Most of these new residents would presumably have arrived in the United States before 1907, and many may have relocated from California. Outside of Salt Lake City and Ogden, most were working on the railroads or in the coal mines, although one large group in Morgan County was associated with the Union Portland Cement Company's operation at Devil's Slide, where a significant Japanese population lived and worked for 30 years (Wright and Wright 1996:25). The beginning of diversification into agriculture is also evident, and Japanese were to be found working as farmers or farm laborers, primarily in Cache, Box Elder, and Davis Counties and often in the sugar beet industry.

[13] A long list of early Japanese cleaning and tailoring establishments in Utah, with street addresses and owners names, is provided by Rupert Hachiya (1996), Cleaning and Tailoring Shops, in Ted Nagata (ed.), *Japanese Americans in Utah* (JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah), pp. 115–117.

Table 9. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Principal Occupations
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City (Wards 1-5)	347	Railroad laborer, restaurant worker, cook, merchant, farm laborer, pool room keeper/worker, tailor, coal miner, newspaper editor, boardinghouse keeper, beet field laborer, etc.
	Upper Bingham	241	Almost all railroad laborers, a few at mines
	Garfield	69	Railroad laborer, pipeline laborer
	Pleasant Green	61	Copper mill laborer
	Hunter	54	Railroad laborer
	Bingham	50	Railroad trackman
	Highland Boy	20	Railroad trackman, boardinghouse cook
	Murray	5	Railroad laborer
	Mountain Dell	4	Construction camp cook
	Farmer Precinct	3	Farmer
	Mill Creek	3	Truck gardener
	Sandy	3	Railroad section hand
	West Jordan	3	Farm laborer
	Alta	2	Waiter at mine boardinghouse
	Big Cottonwood	2	Laborer at fruit tree nursery
	Lark	2	Hotel cook and dishwasher
	Midvale	2	Cook and servant at club house
	SUBTOTAL	*871*	
Weber	Ogden (mostly Ward 2, also Wards 1, 4, and 5)	416	Varied
	Wilson	10	Farmer (rented farm)
	Marriott	6	Farmer (rented farm)
	Riverdale	4	Farm laborer
	Roy	3	Plant nursery laborer
	Slaterville	3	Farmer, farm laborer
	Burch Creek	2	Farmer
	Eden	2	Hotel porter, odd jobs laborer
	North Ogden	2	Truck farm laborer
	Plain City	2	Farmer
	Pleasant View	2	Veterinary surgeon
	Hooper	1	Farmer
	SUBTOTAL	*453*	

Table 9. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Principal Occupations
Carbon	Helper	54	Railroad laborer
	Kenilworth	32	Coal miner
	Sunnyside	32	Coal miner
	Clear Creek	22	Coal miner
	Hiawatha	20	Railroad laborer, camp cook
	Winter Quarters	19	Coal miner
	Castle Gate	12	Coal miner
	Price	10	Cook, miner, laborer, dishwasher
	SUBTOTAL	*201*	
Box Elder	Lucin	61	Railroad laborer
	Sunset	25	Farmer
	Calls Fort	20	Sugar beet laborer
	Elwood	11	Farm laborer
	Rawlins	9	Beet thinner
	Bear River	6	Beet grower
	Brigham City	4	Farmer
	E. Garland	4	Farm laborer
	Malad	4	Beet farm manager, beet farm laborer
	Riverside	2	Farm laborer
	Fielding	1	Farmer (on own farm)
	Three Mile	1	Nursery laborer
	Willard	1	Hotel laundry
	SUBTOTAL	*149*	
Davis	Farmington	55	Railroad laborer
	Centerville	47	Railroad laborer
	Layton	5	Farm laborer
	Clearfield	3	Farm laborer
	Bountiful	2	Farm hand
	S. Hooper	2	Farmer
	Kaysville	1	Cook
	SUBTOTAL	*115*	
Morgan	Croydon	67	Cement plant laborer
	Morgan City	11	Railroad section man
	Peterson	8	Railroad section hand
	SUBTOTAL	*86*	

Table 9. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Principal Occupations
Tooele	Grantsville	39	Railroad laborer
	Vernon	12	Cook, miner, rockwork laborer
	Ophir	8	Boardinghouse cook, waiter
	Iosepa	5	Railroad section laborer
	Ibapah	3	Railroad laborer
	Stockton	3	Railroad laborer
	Lakeview [near Tooele]	2	Farmer
	SUBTOTAL	*72*	
Cache	Petersboro	15	Railroad section hand
	Lewiston	12	Farmer, overseas beet and rail contractor
	Stephenson	9	Farmer
	Smithfield	5	Railroad laborer
	Logan	2	Servant
	Millville	2	Farmer
	Benson	1	Farmer
	College	1	Farmer
	Mendon	1	Farm laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*48*	
Emery	Huntington	42	Railroad section laborer
	Green River	1	Hotel cook
	SUBTOTAL	*43*	
Beaver	Star	31	Railroad section hand, cook, waiter
	Grampion	1	Railroad section laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*32*	
Juab	Mammoth	16	Railroad section foreman, laborer
	Silver City	11	Railroad section foreman, laborer
	Eureka	3	Restaurant cook, liquor store porter
	SUBTOTAL	*30*	
Millard	Black Rock	7	Railroad laborer
	Lynndyl	7	Railroad laborer
	Clear Lake	3	Railroad laborer
	Oasis	3	Railroad section laborer
	Meadow	1	Farm hand
	SUBTOTAL	*21*	

Table 9. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Principal Occupations
Summit	Park City	12	Hotel cook, Union Pacific and Rio Grande railroad section laborers
	Castle Rock	5	Railroad laborers
	SUBTOTAL	*17*	
Utah	Thistle	9	Railroad laborer, odd jobs
	Lehi	2	Railroad laborer
	Santaquin	2	Railroad section laborer
	Colton	1	Railroad laborer
	Provo	1	State mental hospital inmate
	SUBTOTAL	*15*	
Sevier	Redmond	4	Sugar beet farmer
	Richfield	1	Farmer
	SUBTOTAL	*5*	
Iron	Lund	3	Railroad section hand
Sanpete	Centerfield	2	Farmer
Grand	Cisco	1	Hotel cook
	TOTAL	**2,164**	

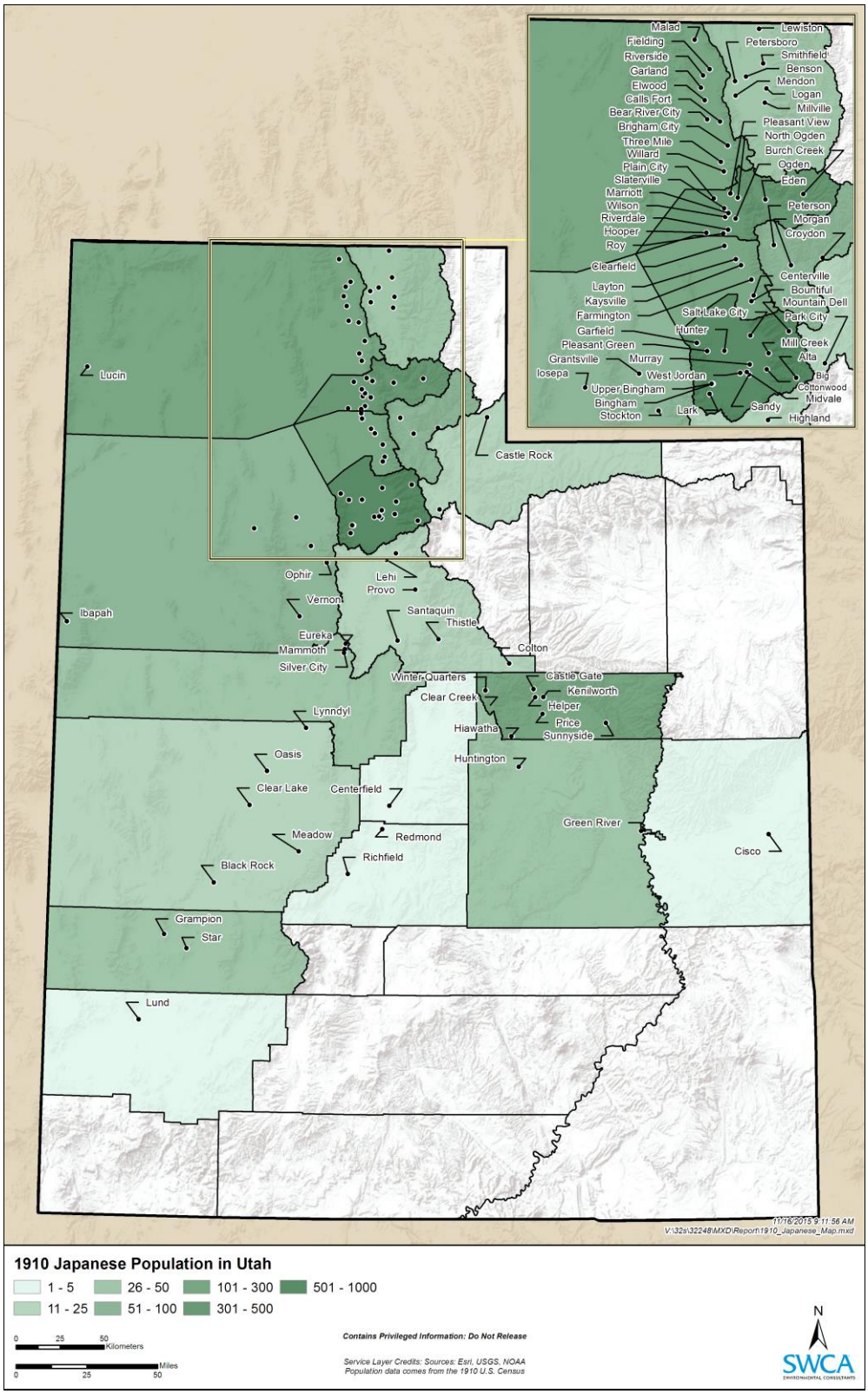

Figure 14. Distribution of Utah's Japanese population at the time of the 1910 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Japanese residents or were the nearest post office for Japanese residents in outlying areas.

2.1.2.3. AGRICULTURE AND DIVERSIFICATION, 1914–1930

Agriculture continued to gain significance in the lives of Utah's Japanese, due in part to increasingly restrictive laws in California. In 1914, California passed the Alien Land Law, which prevented the Japanese from owning agricultural land or possessing long-term leases; many correspondingly moved to Utah where restrictions were fewer (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015). Many of Utah's Japanese railroad workers had also transitioned from section work to farming, and "it was in the rural areas that they made their major contribution to the state's development" (Smith 1976:22).

Farmers and farm laborers resided primarily in north and central Utah, including Box Elder, Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, and Sanpete Counties (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015; Smith 1976:22). The Japanese farmers grew tomatoes, onions, beans, cucumbers, wheat, alfalfa, potatoes, and other crops, while a few raised dairy cows and beef cattle (Tamura and Hori 1996:77). But it was in sugar beet farming and processing that the Japanese made the earliest significant impact. As documented in the census, the Japanese were involved in the industry by 1910 in Cache and Box Elder Counties. The indefatigable E. D. Hashimoto had established the Clearfield Canning Company and began hiring Japanese workers to raise sugar beets for the People's Sugar Company (later known as the Utah-Idaho Sugar Beet Company); he opened a branch operation near Delta, Utah, in 1917 (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:7). Many Japanese worked at the Layton Sugar Beet Factory in Davis County, where some lived at the Ono Labor Camp (Tamura and Hori 1996:76). In Syracuse, most farmed on the John R. Barnes property beginning in 1914 and eventually achieved a population large enough to support a Buddhist church (Holt 2015:6). And in 1917, the first Japanese agricultural workers moved into the Moroni area in Sanpete County to grow sugar beets on leased land under contract to the same company. They were followed by other Japanese farmers from 1919 through the mid-1920s, who expanded and diversified the industry, achieving notable success in the production of cauliflower and cabbage (Smith 1976:22-23).

These early Japanese farmers often had a variable relationship with their white neighbors, which generally depended on the economic state of farming at the time. Regardless of the economic climate, however, the Japanese farmers were widely recognized for their agricultural skill, and developed a number of well-known and very successful vegetable varieties including Sweetheart and Jumbo celeries and Twentieth Century strawberries (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015; Smith 1976:22; Tamura and Hori 1996:76–78; Ushio 1996:79–81).

Japanese immigration was profoundly affected by the 1917 Immigration Act (Asiatic Barred Zone Act), which continued to bar immigration from China and expanded restrictions to include Japan and most of Asia (U.S. Department of State 2015c). Restrictions were tightened even further under the Immigration Act of 1924 (Johnson-Reed Act), which established the national origins quota system that limited immigration to 2 percent of the foreign-born population based on data from 1890 (U.S. Department of State 2015c). Given how few individuals of Japanese descent were living in the United States at that time, the quota system essentially eliminated Japanese immigration to the United States.

Utah's existing Japanese immigrant community (Issei) and growing second-generation Japanese-American population (Nisei) continued to thrive, however, particularly in the Japan Towns (Nihonmachi) of Salt Lake City and Ogden.[14] "Little Tokyos" could also be found in Garfield and Magna, which also boasted a Japanese baseball team, a popular sport among the Nisei (Papanikolas and Kasai1996:6,9). Churches were very important and served as spiritual, cultural, and civic centers: "In 1918 a Japanese

[14] A list of Japanese-owned Ogden-area businesses from the early 1900s to 1995 (without street addresses) was compiled by the Wasatch Front Japanese American Citizens League (1996), Ogden Area Businesses, in Ted Nagata (ed.), *Japanese Americans in Utah* (JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah), pp. 185–186. A similar list of Salt Lake City businesses, often with street addresses, was compiled by Miki Hasegawa and Tom Hori (1996), Salt Lake Area Businesses, in Ted Nagata (ed.), *Japanese Americans in Utah* (JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah), pp. 186–189.

Church of Christ was established in Salt Lake City [Figure 15]. A Japanese Union church was next established in Ogden and a Buddhist church in Honeyville. A Salt Lake Nichiren Buddhist church had its inception in 1954" (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:10). Other Buddhist churches were formed in Syracuse, Honeyville, and Corinne, and in Carbon County (Brown 2012). Newspapers were another crucial factor that helped to define and unite the community; in 1907 the *Rocky Mountain Times* began publication, followed by the *Utah Nippo*, which is still published today (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:8). The community also established Japanese schools, the first in Salt Lake City in 1919, which trained Nisei in the Japanese language and cultural traditions. Many Issei believed that they would eventually return to Japan with their families, when it would be important for Nisei to integrate easily with native Japanese (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:10) (Figure 16). New Year celebrations, summer picnics, fundraising events for the Japanese schools, and other festivals and events strengthened and bound the community closer together. And the Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), established in 1929, gave the group a local and national political voice (Nagata 1996).

Figure 15. Congregants gathered outside the Japanese Church of Christ in Salt Lake City, ca. 1950s. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Figure 16. A Japanese class outside of the Fremont School in Salt Lake City, ca. 1915. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

Between 1910 and 1920, the Japanese community in Utah grew from about 2,000 to 3,000 people, one-third of whom worked as miners and another third of whom did agricultural work; railroad work continued as well (Table 10 and Figure 17). Generally the population was concentrated in Salt Lake City and at the mining operations around Bingham and Garfield; in the coal-mining and railroad towns of Carbon County; and in Ogden and the surrounding agricultural lands of Weber, Box Elder, and Davis Counties. The census typically misses population shifts of short duration, however, like the group of Japanese laborers who lived and worked near St. George in 1914 while they built the Pine Valley Canal (Konishi et al. 1996:96).

Table 10. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City (mostly Ward 2)	478
	Boston Consolidated Mining Camp (Precinct 10) [Bingham area]	199
	Garfield Smelter Camp (Precinct 4)	78
	Arthur Mill (Precinct 4) [Magna area]	72
	Bingham	34
	West Jordan (Precinct 9)	28
	Midvale	22
	Garfield Town (Precinct 4)	19
	Murray/Holladay area (Precinct 3)	17
	Magna Mill (Precinct 4)	8
	Taylorsville (Precinct 5)	7
	Union (Precinct 6)	7
	Sandy (Precinct 7)	4
	Draper (Precinct 8)	3
	Murray	1
	Brighton	1
	SUBTOTAL	*978*
Carbon	Sunnyside	110
	Peerless	83
	Helper	61
	Hiawatha	45
	Rains	43
	Standardville	33
	Castle Gate	31
	Kenilworth	25
	Storrs	25
	Clear Creek	19
	Price	16
	Latuda	14
	Heiner	4
	Spring Glen	2
	Winter Quarters	1
	SUBTOTAL	*513*

Table 10. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District		Number of Japanese Residents
Weber	Ogden		318
	Roy		49
	Kanesville		27
	Burch Creek		21
	Riverdale		21
	Hooper		18
	Uintah		15
	Taylor		10
	Pleasant View		8
	Wilson		7
	Liberty		4
	Slaterville		3
	Marriott		1
		SUBTOTAL	*502*
Box Elder	Calls Fort		32
	Bear River		31
	Malad		30
	Elwood		29
	Corinne		26
	Lucin		26
	Fielding		19
	Rawlins		18
	Sunset		16
	Tremonton		15
	Riverside		11
	Willard		11
	Box Elder		7
	E. Garland		5
	Kelton		4
	Deweyville		3
	Garland		2
		SUBTOTAL	*286*

Table 10. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents
Davis	Clearfield	49
	Clinton	48
	Syracuse	30
	S. Hooper	9
	Layton	6
	SUBTOTAL	*142*
Tooele	Lakeview (smelter) [Tooele area]	66
	Wendover	28
	Tooele	6
	Ophir	5
	Salduro	5
	Mill	4
	Vernon	4
	St. John	3
	Lake Point	2
	Gold Hill	2
	Grantsville	1
	SUBTOTAL	*126*
Cache	Lewiston	46
	College	18
	Logan	8
	Newton	4
	Smithfield	4
	Trenton	4
	Wellsville	3
	Petersboro	2
	SUBTOTAL	*89*
Millard	Lynndyl	36
	Woodrow	11
	Southerland	7
	Delta	6
	Black Rock	4
	Clear Lake	2
	Kanosh	2
	SUBTOTAL	*67*

Table 10. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District		Number of Japanese Residents
Beaver	Star		46
	Grampion		3
	Minersville		2
		SUBTOTAL	*51*
Emery	Mohrland		47
Morgan	Croydon		40
Utah	Payson		18
	Elberta		7
	Lake Shore		5
	Benjamin		3
	Provo		2
	Pleasant Grove		1
		SUBTOTAL	*36*
Juab	Eureka		3
	Mammoth		1
		SUBTOTAL	*4*
Wasatch	Soldier Summit		33
Summit	Castle Rock		5
	Park City		3
	Parleys Park		2
	SUBTOTAL		*10*
Sanpete	Gunnison		7
Grand	Sego		2
		TOTAL	**2,933**

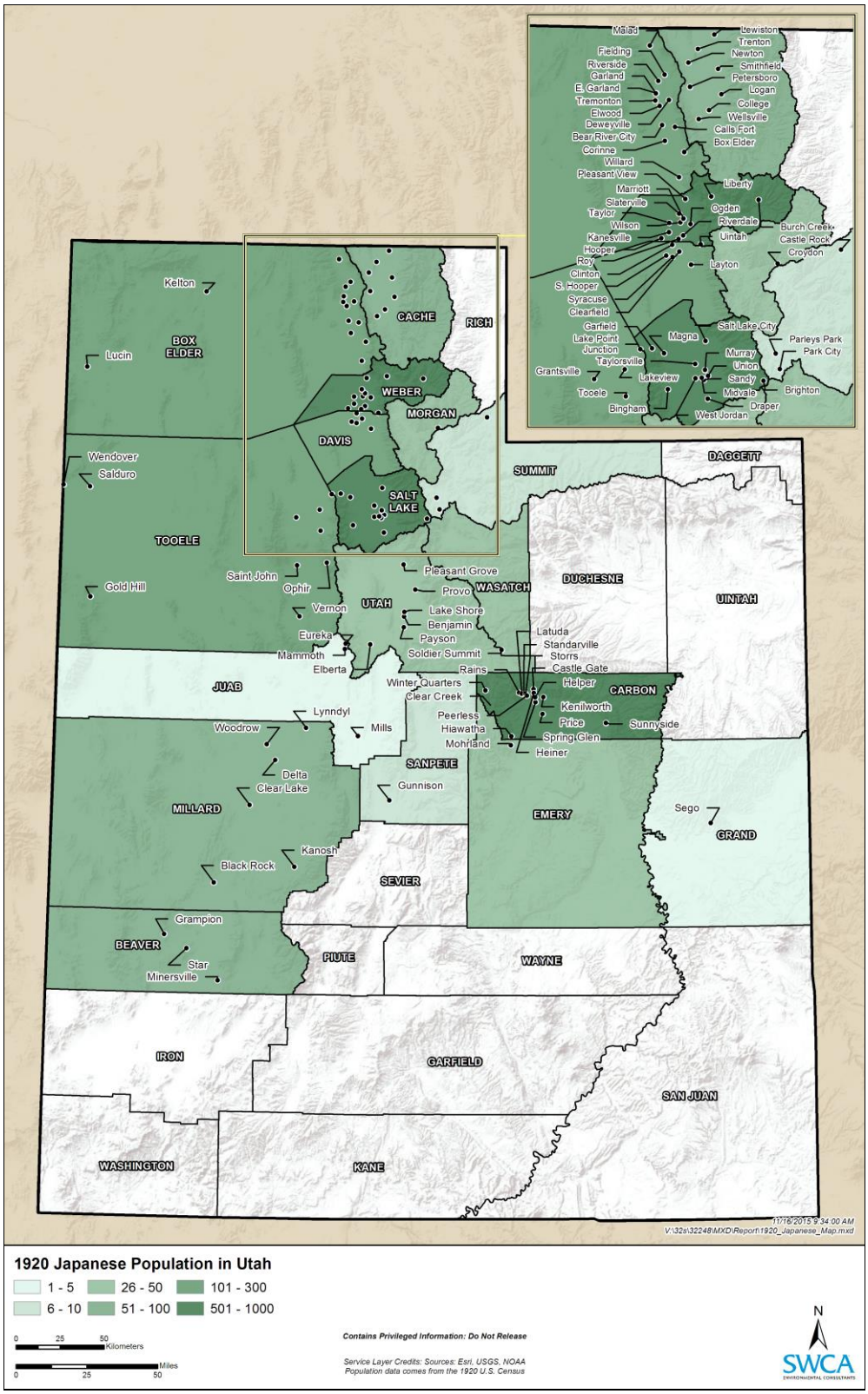

Figure 17. Distribution of Utah's Japanese population at the time of the 1920 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Japanese residents or were the nearest post office for Japanese residents in outlying areas.

The 1930 census reflects limited growth in Utah's Japanese community: approximately 3,300 Japanese were recorded in Utah, almost one-third of whom (approximately 1,144) lived in Salt Lake County (Table 11 and Figure 18). Unlike the Chinese community, in which the few women were living in only a small number of communities, Japanese families could be found in all parts of the state. Populations of 5–25 people in smaller towns often represented one to three families, including wives, children, and often a boarder or two. Men still lived in large groups at mining and railroad camps and at industrial sites like smelters, but smaller groups of men could be found lodging together in threes and fours, particularly in rural farming areas and in towns (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

Of this cohort, most adults were born in Japan but most children were born in Utah. Most adult men had immigrated during the period from the late 1890s to 1910, while their wives usually arrived 10–15 years later (between 1907 and 1920). Indeed, the census indicates a striking uniformity of family composition and stratification of generations across the state. More recently arrived adult immigrants were usually born in Hawaii, often to parents born there as well. This underscores the importance of the Hawaii Territory as an access point to the United States even when legislative measures had officially closed the country off (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

Despite discrimination and the constricting realities of anti-immigration legislation in these years, the 1920s were a time of increasing stability and prosperity for Utah's Japanese. Occupations became increasingly diversified, and residents worked as physicians, dentists, automobile repair workers, florists, grocers, photographers, jewelers, cooks, restaurant and café proprietors, hotel keepers, salesmen, pool hall managers, laundry operators, agriculturalists of all kinds, and, as always, coal miners and railroad section workers and bosses (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]; Moriyasu 1996:29). In Salt Lake City's Japan Town, many families lived in quarters in the back rooms of businesses "and children grew up with the sidewalk and the back alleys as their playground" (Moriyasu 1996:29). Ogden's Japan Town was smaller (bounded by Keisel Avenue, Wall Avenue, 24th Street, and 25th Street), rougher, and less clearly defined, as it was intermingled with most of Ogden's other minority populations, but it had an equally diverse range of businesses (Ichida et al. 1996:36-41).[15]

Table 11. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Primary Occupations
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	535	Urban occupations Smelter workers Cooks Farmers Farm laborers Gardener on a private estate (Wasatch National Forest)
	Precinct 10 (Highland Boy/Bingham area)	213	
	Murray	160	
	Garfield	121	
	Precinct 3 (Mill Creek area)	77	
	Precinct 2 (South Salt Lake)	40	
	Precinct 4 (Japanese Camp/Magna area)	37	
	Bingham Canyon	28	

[15] Information on many of Utah's Japanese and Japanese-American communities, community members, businesses, civic groups, and social organizations has been collected in the volume *Japanese Americans in Utah* (Nagata 1996), which will be an invaluable resource when attempting to locate properties that may be eligible for NRHP listing and members of the Japanese-American community who can lead the effort or assist in many ways.

Table 11. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Primary Occupations
	Butler	18	
	Midvale	15	
	Draper	7	
	Cottonwood	6	
	Magna	6	
	Precinct 5 (rural area west on 500 South)	6	
	Sugar House	1	
	Wasatch National Forest	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*1,271*	
Weber	Ogden	359	Wide range of urban occupations: Cooks Restaurant proprietors Hotel keepers Salesmen Union Church minister Railroad workers
	West Warren	36	
	Roy	24	
	Kanesville	17	
	Wilson	16	
	Burch Creek	15	
	Huntsville	11	
	Riverdale	10	
	Fairmont	8	
	Hooper	8	
	Farr West	7	
	Marriott	7	
	Uintah	6	
	Liberty	5	
	Taylor	3	
	SUBTOTAL	*532*	
Carbon	Helper	77	Railroad foremen and laborers Mine foremen and laborers Cooks Pool hall proprietors Restaurant proprietors Restaurant workers Store keepers Other urban occupations
	Columbia	45	
	Spring Canyon	34	
	Rains	31	
	Hiawatha	26	
	Price	25	
	Standardville	24	
	Peerless	21	
	Latuda	18	
	Rolapp	16	
	Sunnyside	16	

Table 11. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Primary Occupations
	Kenilworth	13	
	Sweet Mine	11	
	Wattis	10	
	Spring Glen	8	
	Clear Creek	6	
	Heiner	6	
	Castle Gate	5	
	Wellington	2	
	SUBTOTAL	*394*	
Davis	Syracuse	176	Farming Farm laborer
	Layton	118	
	Clearfield	71	
	Clinton	43	
	West Point	26	
	Kaysville	23	
	Centerville	7	
	West Bountiful	4	
	Farmington	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*469*	
Box Elder	Honeyville	48	Farming Agricultural workers Railroad workers (a few)
	Fielding	46	
	Malad	43	
	Garland	33	
	Bear River	32	
	Tremonton	17	
	Corinne	16	
	Calls Fort	14	
	Elwood	12	
	East Garland	11	
	Riverside	9	
	Kelton	8	
	Box Elder	7	
	Rawlins	7	
	Deweyville	6	
	SUBTOTAL	*309*	

Table 11. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Primary Occupations
Tooele	Lincoln ("Jap camp below smelter")	43	Railroad workers Smelter workers (42 at Lincoln)
	Wendover	16	
	Grantsville	10	
	Vernon	6	
	Tooele	5	
	SUBTOTAL	*80*	
Sanpete	Gunnison	48	Farming
	Wales	7	
	SUBTOTAL	*55*	
Millard	Lynndyl	17	Farming Railroad workers
	Delta	9	
	Flowell	6	
	Oasis	6	
	Southerland	6	
	Clear Lake	5	
	Greenwood	3	
	Black Rock	1	
	McCornick	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*54*	
Cache	Lewiston	14	Farming Restaurant proprietors Cooks Laundry worker
	Logan	14	
	Newton	8	
	Riverside	6	
	Smithfield	5	
	College	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*48*	
Iron	Lund	28	Farming Railroad work
	Modena	13	
	SUBTOTAL	*41*	
Utah	Provo	13	
	Orem	12	
	Pleasant View	7	
	Soldier Summit	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*33*	

Table 11. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents	Primary Occupations
Emery	Mohrland	32	Cook Miners
	Green River	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*33*	
Juab	Eureka	16	Railroad work Laundry work Farming
	Mills	7	
	Silver City	3	
	SUBTOTAL	*26*	
Beaver	Star	23	Railroad work Section foreman Machinist Café manager
Grand	Sego	18	Mining
Summit	Castle Rock	10	Railroad
	Henefer	3	
	Park City	3	
	Parley's Park	1	
	SUBTOTAL	*17*	
Morgan	Croydon	16	Cement factory work
	TOTAL	**3,396**	

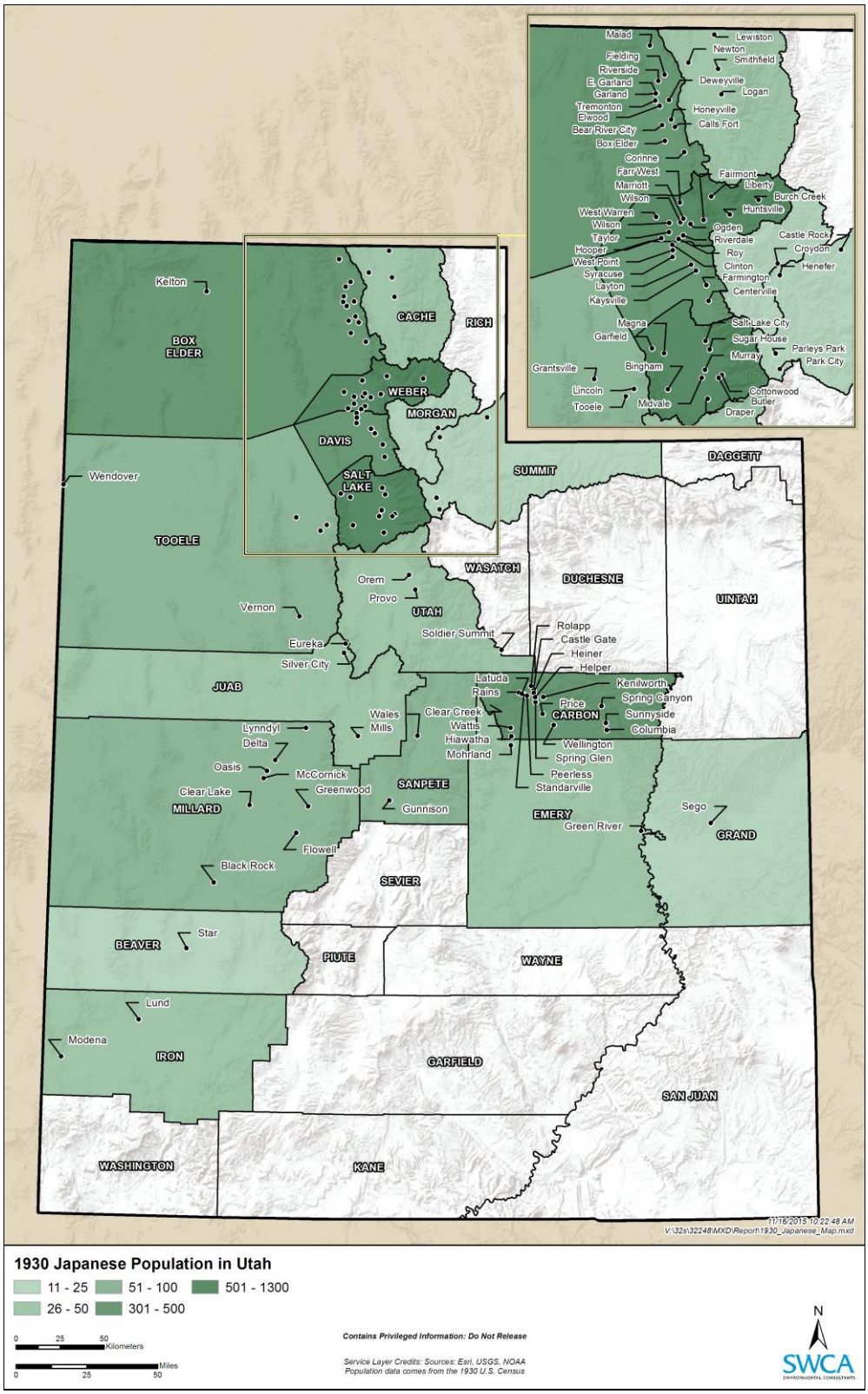

Figure 18. Distribution of Utah's Japanese population at the time of the 1930 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Japanese residents or were the nearest post office for Japanese residents in outlying areas.

2.1.2.4. THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND A CONTRACTING POPULATION, 1931–1941

The Great Depression of the 1930s had a profound impact on most people living in America, and the Japanese were no exception. As resources diminished, discrimination increased and most available jobs were preferentially given to whites. Droughts also affected agricultural work, in which the Japanese remained heavily involved. As a result, between 1930 and 1940 more than 1,000 Japanese left Utah for California or returned to Japan (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]; Papanikolas and Kasai 2015). The populations of Salt Lake and Weber Counties dropped by about a third, while the Carbon County and Tooele County populations dropped by more than half (Table 12 and Figure 19). Smaller populations in other counties were often reduced by more than 75 percent or disappeared altogether. The least hard hit were the agricultural areas of Davis and Box Elder Counties, where the Japanese population declined by only about 10–25 percent. This trying period is not well documented, most likely because it pales in comparison with the Japanese and Japanese-American experience during World War II.

Table 12. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City and environs	470
	Copperfield "Japanese Camp" (Precinct 10) [Bingham area]	101
	Garfield (Precinct 4)	54
	South Salt Lake City	52
	Murray	50
	Midvale	13
	Union/Holladay	7
	SUBTOTAL	*747*
Davis	Syracuse	176
	Layton	101
	Laytona	42
	West Point	35
	Clearfield	23
	Kaysville	20
	Clinton	16
	Sunset	9
	West Bountiful	7
	SUBTOTAL	*429*

Table 12. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents
Weber	Ogden	198
	Roy	29
	Kanesville	18
	Slaterville	12
	Warren	11
	Plain City	10
	Riverdale	9
	Marriott	7
	South Ogden	7
	Fairmont	6
	Wilson	6
	Farr West	5
	Uintah	4
	Burch Creek	1
	Hooper	1
	SUBTOTAL	*324*
Box Elder	Malad	42
	Honeyville	36
	Corinne	30
	Calls Fort	20
	Deweyville	19
	Box Elder	16
	Tremonton	15
	Bear River	10
	Brigham	9
	Fielding	8
	Riverside	8
	Bothwell	5
	Penrose	5
	Willard	4
	Kelton	1
	SUBTOTAL	*228*

Table 12. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Japanese Residents
Carbon	Columbia	25
	Sunnyside	24
	Helper	21
	Spring Canyon	21
	Latuda	17
	Rolapp	17
	Hiawatha	16
	Price	9
	Miller Creek	8
	Kenilworth	5
	Wattis	4
	Wellington	4
	Sweet Mine	2
	SUBTOTAL	*173*
Utah	Vineyard	13
	Orem	11
	Pleasant Grove	8
	Provo	3
	Springville	1
	SUBTOTAL	*36*
Tooele	Lakeview [Tooele area]	16
	Wendover	11
	Tooele	7
	Burmester	1
	SUBTOTAL	*35*
Sanpete	Gunnison	26
Juab	Eureka	16
	Mills	5
	Nephi	3
	SUBTOTAL	*24*
Iron	Beryl	18
	Lund	2
	SUBTOTAL	*20*
Cache	Lewiston	14
	Logan	1
	SUBTOTAL	*15*

Table 12. The Distribution of Utah's Japanese Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District		Number of Japanese Residents
Millard	Delta		10
Wasatch	Soldier Summit		7
Summit	Park City		4
	Echo		1
		SUBTOTAL	*5*
San Juan	Monticello		1
Morgan	Croydon		1
		TOTAL	**2,081**

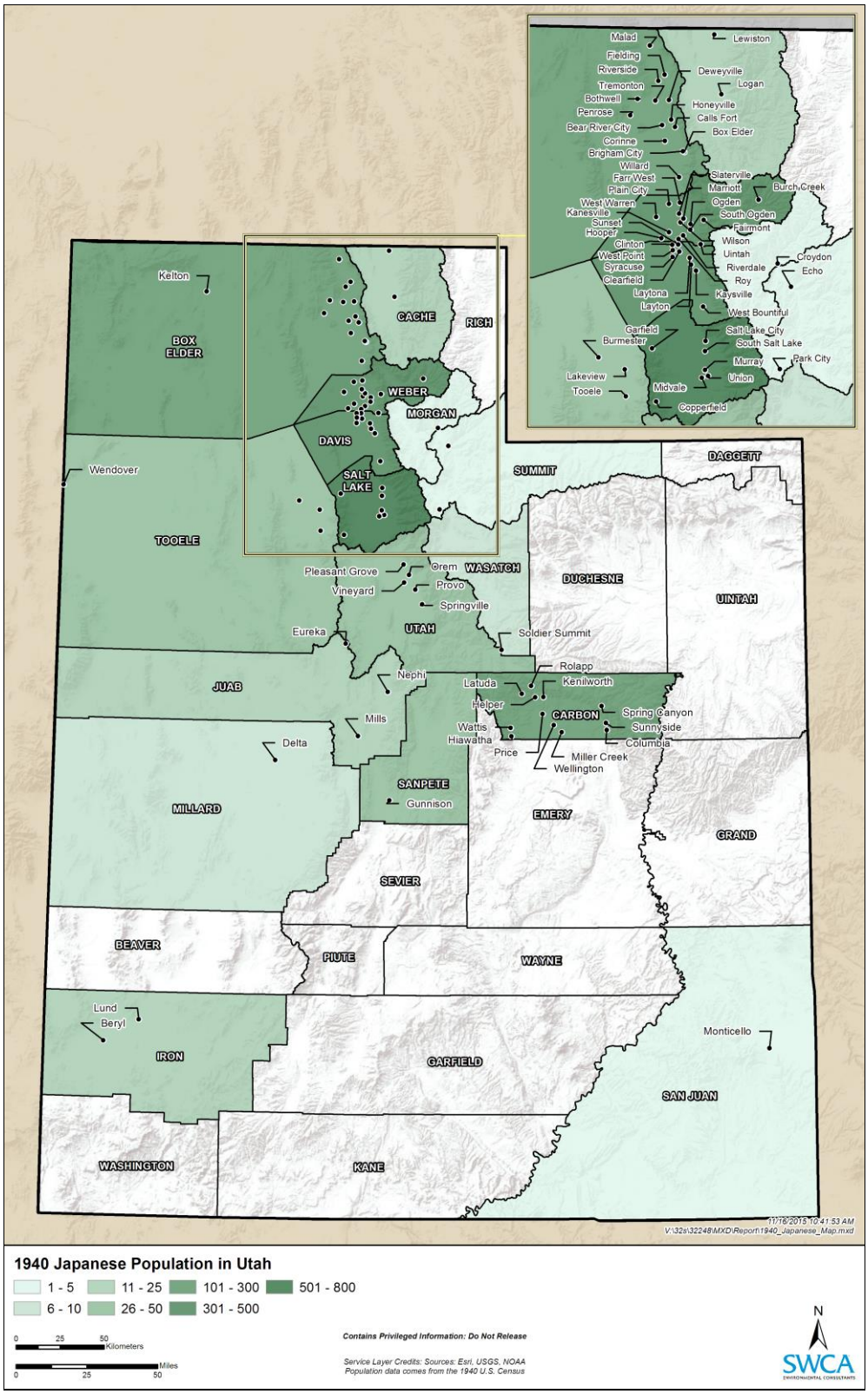

Figure 19. Distribution of Utah's Japanese population at the time of the 1940 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities either had Japanese residents or were the nearest post office for Japanese residents in outlying areas.

2.1.2.5. WORLD WAR II AND THE RELOCATION ERA, 1942–1946

Racial antagonism towards Asians had cyclically simmered and flared in America since the nineteenth century, but, after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, public sentiment among white Americans became virulently anti-Japanese, particularly in California. Fears and suspicions about "enemy aliens" resulted in President Roosevelt's infamous Executive Order 9066 of February 1942, which authorized the evacuation of Japanese and Japanese-Americans from the West Coast of the United States (Papanikolas and Kasai 2015).

A brief "voluntary" relocation period preceded the forcible evacuation of the Japanese from California, Oregon, and Washington to internment camps.[16] In Utah, a voluntary evacuee community was formed near Keetley, in Summit County, where, in 1942, a small group of Japanese from California established a relatively self-contained farming community, raising vegetables, chickens, and pigs for the war effort (Taylor 1986). The group was headed by Fred Isamu Wada, a prosperous produce dealer from Oakland, California, and numbered about 130 Japanese and Japanese-Americans by the end of March 1942 (Taylor 1986:337). Unfortunately, the costs of transportation to Salt Lake City and the price the military paid for their crops resulted in mixed success for the Keetley farm. "When the war ended, the members of the Keetley colony remained to harvest the crop" (Taylor 1986:344). Most then returned to California, but some stayed in Utah (Taylor 1986:344). Today, the site of the Keetley colony and the land its members farmed lies beneath the Jordanelle Reservoir.

The looming threat of government-enforced internment also drastically swelled the size of the Japanese community in Salt Lake City as many individuals arrived from the West Coast. As Alice Kasai recalled, "…the influx of people from the West Coast overnight doubled the size of the Japanese community…" (Kasai 1975:11). The Japanese were banned from working on the railroads or at the mines, which were newly classified as war industries, and Utah residents from Carbon County and other areas likely moved to Salt Lake City and Ogden as well. The reaction from white legislators and communities was quick and negative—responses included passing the Alien Law (prohibiting Japanese and Japanese-Americans from purchasing land), denying business licenses, and general opposition—but many new Japanese-owned businesses opened to serve the expanding community (Kasai 1975:11–12). The Japanese community rallied to help its members, and this included activities by the Victory Committee, which raised funds and collected donations for those interned at Topaz, near Delta, Utah. Eighteen Japanese-American men from Utah fought and died with the Nisei 442nd Regimental Combat Team, the most highly decorated U.S. regiment for its size and length of service in World War II; they are commemorated at the Nisei War Monument in the Salt Lake City Cemetery (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:17).

Discriminatory responses by white Utahns were not universal, however. As Welker notes, both Brigham Young University and the University of Utah helped many Nisei students finish their tertiary education through the Japanese American Student Relocation Program (Welker 2002). And the Japanese community was aided and supported by a number of influential Utahns, including Salt Lake City Mayor Ab Jenkins and Governor Herbert Maw. Most notable was Utah's U.S. Senator Elbert D. Thomas, who had served a Mormon mission to Japan as a young man and had strong ties to Utah's Japanese community (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:16–17). His close relationship with Mike Masaoka, a Nisei Mormon and educator at the University of Utah who was the spokesman for the JACL during and after the war, was invaluable in strengthening the voice of the community (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:13).

[16] These were officially termed "relocation camps" by the U.S. government but are commonly described as internment camps and concentration camps as well. The use of the last term has been controversial given its strong connotations with Nazi atrocities during the Holocaust, although the term is preferred by some Japanese-American community members.

Most of Utah's Japanese and Japanese-American residents were not forced into the relocation camps; the exceptions were important community members, a move intended to leave a leaderless population. West Coast Japanese and Japanese-Americans were not so fortunate. Approximately 110,000 Japanese and Japanese-Americans were transported to 10 internment camps, including 8,000 to the Central Utah Relocation Center, or Topaz Internment Camp, approximately 11 miles northwest of Delta (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:16). The site was listed on the NRHP as a national historic landmark in 1974. Many detailed accounts of Topaz and the life of its inmates are available, all of which describe the difficult and often inhumane living conditions. Internees lived in uninsulated and often only half-finished barracks, and faced physical trials such as dust storms, harsh winters, and blazing summers (Uchida 1980:237–238). Despite these difficult circumstances, many Japanese ended up aiding the war effort by assisting in agricultural work, helping to ameliorate the severe worker shortage caused by the war (Taylor 1991:171).

The Moab Relocation Center was a smaller internment camp at Dalton Wells, about 13 miles north of Moab. Built by the Civilian Conservation Corps in the 1930s, the abandoned camp was used by the War Relocation Authority to house leaders of burgeoning resistance efforts at other internment camps, including those at Manzanar and Tule Lake, California, and Gila River, Arizona. The Moab camp was active only briefly, between January and April 1943, and held 49 men at its peak; the site is also listed on the NRHP (NRHP 1994).

2.1.2.6. THE POST–WORLD WAR II ERA, 1947–1970

After Topaz was officially closed at the end of the war, the camp buildings were either dismantled for scrap lumber or moved, reportedly "trucked all over the state from Cedar City, where the high school gymnasium was used on the college campus until 1984, to Logan and all points in between" (Beckwith 1996:107). Many Japanese returned to California to rebuild their lives but some stayed in Utah, and the 1950 census records an increase of over 1,000 Japanese in the state (Beckwith 1996:107; Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:17).

The Japanese who remained in Utah ran businesses that included restaurants, hotels, dry cleaners, laundries, produce dealers, grocery stores, florists, nurseries, insurance sales, pool halls, and more (Hasegawa and Hori 1996; Wasatch Front JACL 1996). But Utah's "Little Tokyos and Japanese Towns were not rebuilt, and assimilation became swift" (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:17). This was supported by various legislative acts. The state's alien land law was repealed in 1947, and, in 1952, Issei were granted citizenship under the McCarran-Walter Act. The Japanese community continued to establish a physical presence in Utah outside of the old Japan Towns. In 1950, the Japanese Peace Garden was the first to be completed and dedicated at the new International Peace Gardens along the Jordan River in Salt Lake City (Kasai 1996:84). In 1954, the Nichiren Buddhist Church was officially opened at 225 Orchard Place in Salt Lake City; it also served as an Issei meeting place (Kanai and Ishimatus 1996:190–191). And in 1964 a new Buddhist Church was dedicated in Ogden at 155 North Street (Yoshida 1996:90). By 1970 people of Japanese descent in Utah numbered 4,700, a high percentage of whom held advanced degrees and worked in professional fields as "doctors, dentists, lawyers, architects, educators, engineers, and social workers" (Papanikolas and Kasai 1996:18).

The heart of the community was still on the west side of Salt Lake City, but this was dealt a final blow in 1966, when the blocks between South Temple, 200 South, West Temple, and 200 West were cleared to create the Salt Palace Convention Center (Kasai 1999:136). Most of the Japanese businesses were closed permanently, and only 12 moved to other areas of the city. Today, only a few apartment buildings, the Japanese Church of Christ (268 West 200 South) and the Salt Lake Buddhist Temple (211 West 100 South, building replaced ca. 1970s) remain of what was once a thriving community (Moriyasu 1996:31). Ogden's Japanese Town eventually fragmented as well, as post-war redevelopment efforts sometimes led to the demolition of old and poor building stock, often for parking lots. In 1996, several long-time

residents noted that the heart of "J-Town" had been removed for a hotel. Elsewhere along 25th Street, "although most of the original buildings which housed the Nikkei businesses are still standing, many renovated and much better looking than when we knew them, the owners and tenants are no longer Nikkei" (Ichida et al.1996:38).

2.1.3. Koreans

Koreans immigrating to Utah arrived later and in far smaller numbers than the Chinese and Japanese, and they are not nearly as well documented. However, Korean immigration to Utah is still an important historical pattern. Koreans came to Utah in several waves, beginning as early as 1896 when they immigrated to fill jobs as miners, agricultural workers, and, most likely, railroad workers as well. This historic summary will cover early worker immigration and then immigration of the brides of soldiers and their families after the Korean War.

At the turn of the twentieth century, political strife, social problems, and economic issues in Korea all encouraged emigration. Europe's imperial powers dominated the region, and Korean affairs were intertwined with those of its much larger neighbors, China, Russia, and Japan. As Chung-Myun Lee describes, "Koreans suffered from poverty, starvation and political instability during the late 19th and early 20th centuries" (Lee 1999:154). After 1905 Korea was held as a protectorate of Japan, and, in 1910, Japan officially annexed the country, a situation that continued until the end of World War II. For this reason, the policies of the United States and Japan that affected immigration applied to Koreans as well, including the Gentleman's Agreement of 1907, the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1917, and the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924.

2.1.3.1. INITIAL IMMIGRATION, 1896–1953

The first official record of Korean immigration to the United States and its territories is from 1903, when Koreans began working on sugar plantations in Hawaii. Approximately 3,000 Koreans continued on to California and took up mining and farming work. Although their arrival in Utah is often dated to ca. 1910–1920, as Chung-Myun Lee notes, "Koreans were most likely mixed into the known groups of early Chinese and Japanese settlers in Utah… [and unaccounted for] due to the inability of non-Asian speaking historians to identify the Korean names…" (Lee 1999:145). Based on research of cemetery records, Lee puts Korean immigration to Utah as early as ca. 1900 (Lee 1999:145). No Koreans in Utah were enumerated in the 1900 census, but by 1910 there were at least 23 in the state, living in Salt Lake City, Ogden, and Manila in Box Elder County (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]) (Figure 20). The 13 men in Salt Lake City lived together at 509 West 100 South; they ranged in age from 19 to 38, with most in their 30s. No occupations are listed, but the area is adjacent to the city's major rail corridor and they likely lived in a camp and worked on the railroad (Table 13). In Ogden's Ward 1, two were living in the West Railroad Yard Bunk House among a large number of Japanese railroad workers; they had emigrated in 1905 and 1907. Elsewhere in the same ward were three other Korean railroad workers who had emigrated within the previous few years and were lodging among the Japanese workers. By contrast, the five men in Manila were working as farm laborers on four separate farms; all had emigrated between 1903 and 1906 (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

Table 13. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Korean Population at the Time of the 1910 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Subtotal	Occupations
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	13	No occupation (likely railroad)
Weber	Ogden	5	Railroad laborer
Box Elder	Manila [Elwood area]	5	Farm laborer
	TOTAL	**23**	

In addition to working on the railroads with Japanese immigrants, it is well documented that Koreans participated in coal and copper mining in the Intermountain West in the early part of the twentieth century (Lee 1999:152–153). Although Lee (1999) believes that some records indicate that Koreans participated in mining as early as 1904, the first official records of Korean miners in Utah date to 1906 and indicate their employment in the open pit mines in Bingham Canyon. By World War I, the use of Asian labor in the mines was extremely important (Lee 1999:154).

By 1920, the official Korean population in Utah had decreased by half (Ancestry 2015c [1920 U.S. Census]) (Table 14 and Figure 21). Most of those enumerated were working on farms in Box Elder County (including one farmer, his wife, and a Utah-born son in Sunset Precinct). A few lived in Salt Lake County, including a bank porter at Bingham and two men working at a silver mine in Big Cottonwood Canyon.

By 1930, 84 Koreans were living in Utah (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]) (Table 15 and Figure 22). The largest population lived in Salt Lake County, including a large cohort of men living in the "Korean Camp" and working at a copper mines in the Bingham Canyon area; the census records that most of the men had immigrated between 1904 and 1906. The demographics and geographic distribution of Koreans in Utah at the time of the 1930 census was very similar to that of the Japanese in terms of family groups and ages, residence locations, and occupations, and members of the two ethnic groups often lived together (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

The Great Depression had a significant impact on Utah's Korean population, and by 1940 only 14 were listed in the state, seven of whom were children (Table 16 and Figure 23). One family of five lived in the Japanese mining community at Spring Canyon while another family of six was farming in Elwood (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]). A brief review of census records indicates that many relocated to California. (The 1940 census includes the 1935 place of residence, and a number of Koreans in California listed Utah locations.) It is not clear if people of Korean ethnicity, technically Japanese citizens, were forced into relocation camps with Japanese and Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Table 14. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Korean Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Korean Residents	Occupations
Box Elder	Sunset [Garland area?]	3	Farmer with wife and Utah-born son
	Tremonton	1	Farm operator
	Rawlins Precinct [Fielding area?]	4	Farmer with 3 farm laborers
	SUBTOTAL	*8*	
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City (Ward 5)	1	Operator (radio?) living in Rex Hotel at 253 S. State
	Bingham	1	Bank porter
	Big Cottonwood (Precinct 6)	2	Silver miner Mine cook
	SUBTOTAL	*4*	
	TOTAL	**12**	

Table 15. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Korean Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Korean Residents	Occupations
Salt Lake	Precinct 10 (Upper Bingham)	31	Copper mining
	Murray	4	Farming
	Bingham Canyon	2	[Unlisted]
	Salt Lake City	1	Cook
	SUBTOTAL	*38*	
Box Elder	Tremonton	10	Farming
	Rawlins Precinct [Fielding area?]	7	Farming
	Bear River	6	Farming
	SUBTOTAL	*23*	
Carbon	Castle Gate	8	Mining
	Spring Canyon	6	Boardinghouse keeper Cook Coal mining (2)
	Peerless	1	Coal mining
	SUBTOTAL	*15*	

Table 15. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Korean Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Korean Residents	Occupations
Emery	Mohrland	4	Coal mining
Davis	Syracuse	3	Farm laborers
Weber	West Warren	1	Railroad work
	TOTAL	84	

Table 16. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Korean Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	**Municipality or Enumeration district**	**Number of Korean Residents**	**Occupations**
Carbon	Spring Canyon	6	Coal loaders (2, 1 with family)
Box Elder	Elwood	6	Farming family
Salt Lake	Bingham Canyon	1	Cook
Weber	Ogden	1	Farm laborer (in Weber County Jail)
	TOTAL	**14**	

2.1.3.2. POST-KOREAN WAR, 1953–1970

Toward the close of World War II, the Allies agreed that after Japan's defeat it would be stripped of its colonies, including Korea. By agreement, the Soviet Union sent occupying forces into Korea north of the 38th parallel while the United States sent occupying forces to the south. Japanese troops surrendered, but conflicts between the two new separate governments erupted into war in 1950, when North Korean forces (backed by the Soviet Union and China) invaded South Korea (backed by 21 member countries of the United Nations). An armistice was signed in July 1953, but border conflicts between the divided nation continue to this day (U.S. Department of State 2015e). South Korea and the United States maintained close ties after the war, leading to the second significant wave of Korean immigration. Many South Koreans came as students to Utah's universities, including the University of Utah, Brigham Young University, and Utah State University. By 1960, there were 60 Korean students in the state, a number that had increased to over 150 by 1970 (Lee 1999:158). Korean student associations were also created at Utah's largest universities during the 1960s (Lee 1999:161).

Other significant demographic groups included Korean professionals who continued their careers in Utah, as well as Korean orphans who were adopted between 1960 and the 1970s (Lee 1999:158–159). The Korean brides of returning service members also moved to the state and, as a result of reforms made through the Immigration Act of 1965, were able to bring their families. The result was a significant increase in Utah's Korean population during this period (Lee 1999:159).

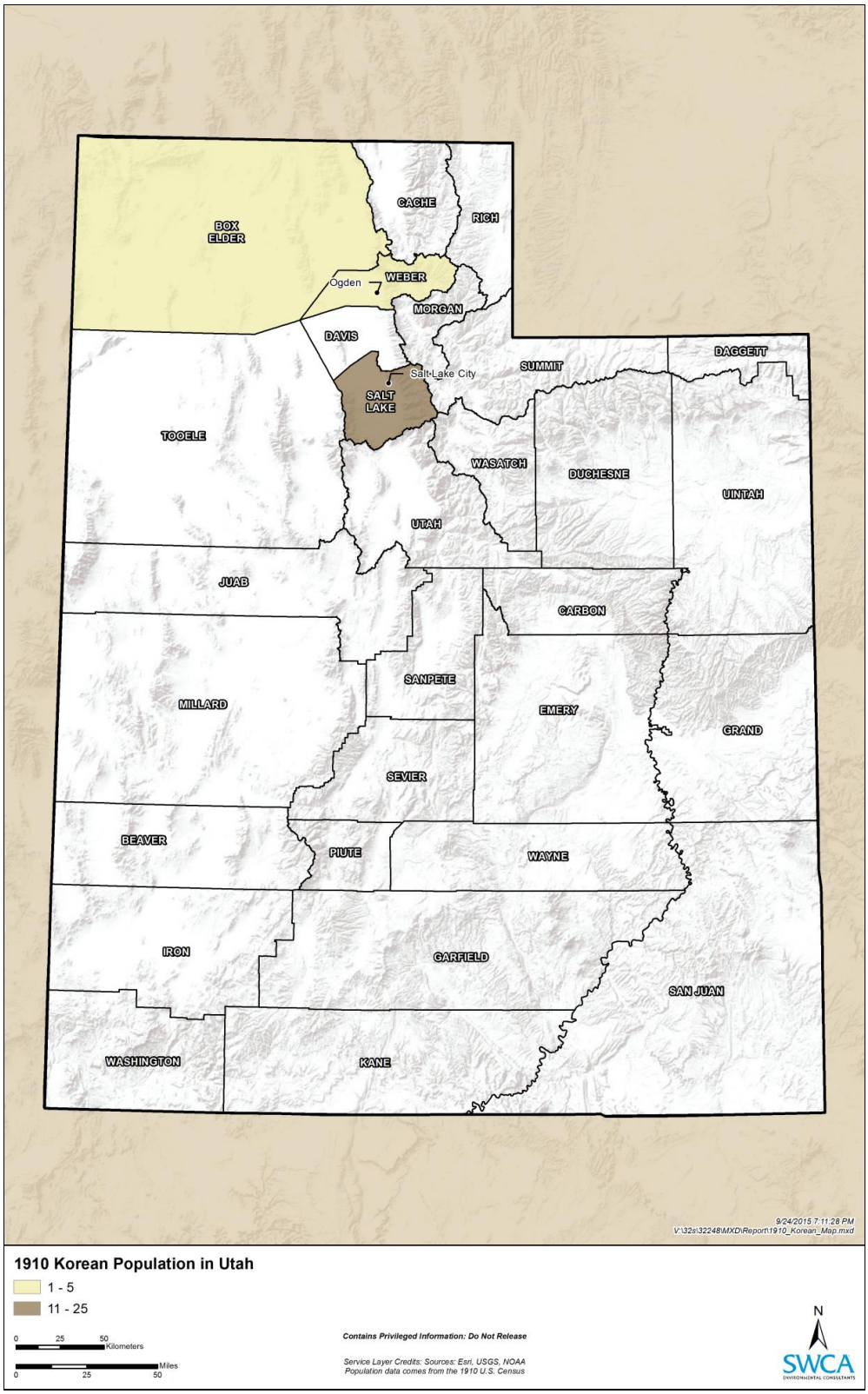

Figure 20. Distribution of Utah's Korean population at the time of the 1910 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Korean residents.

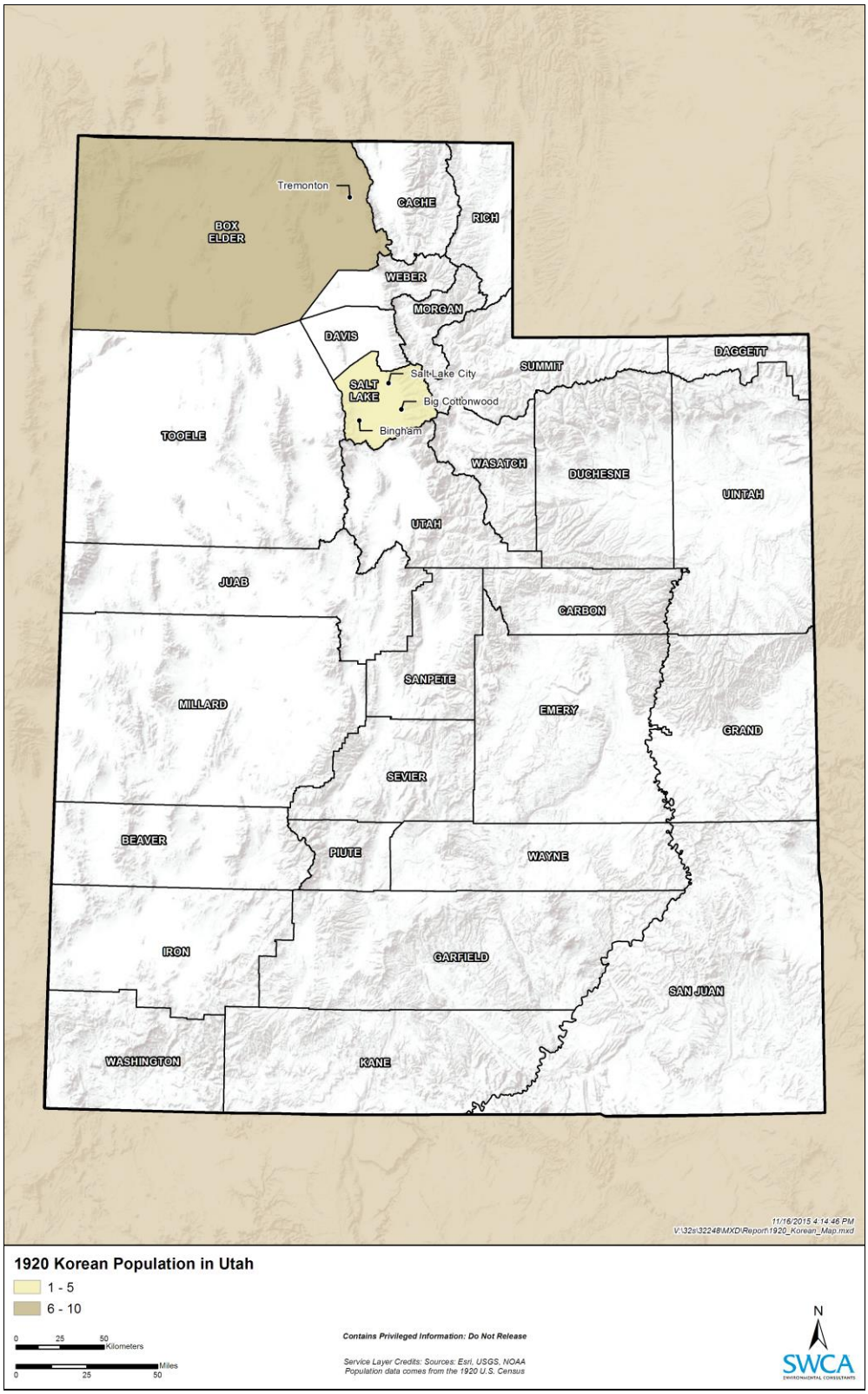

Figure 21. Distribution of Utah's Korean population at the time of the 1920 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Korean residents.

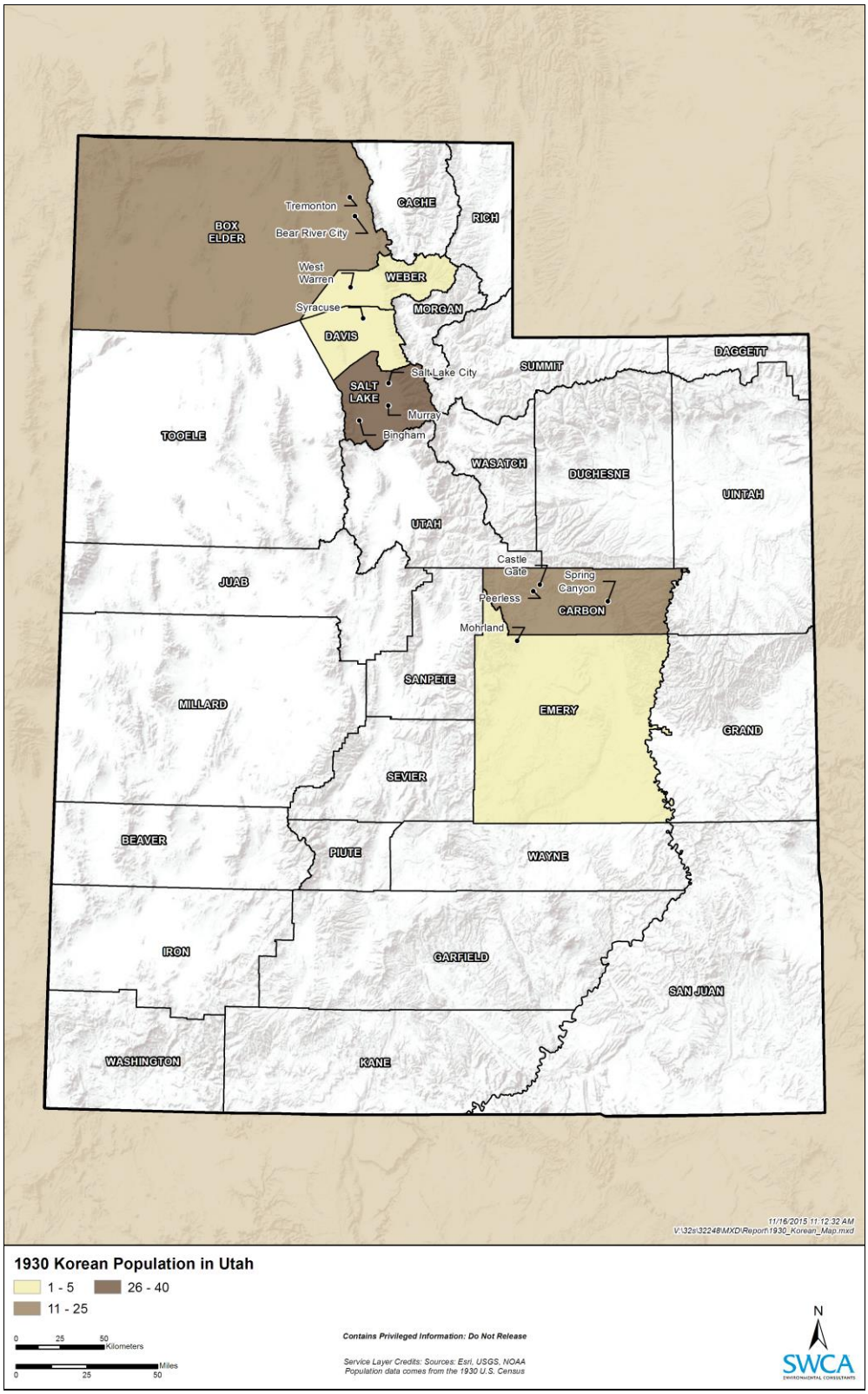

Figure 22. Distribution of Utah's Korean population at the time of the 1930 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Korean residents.

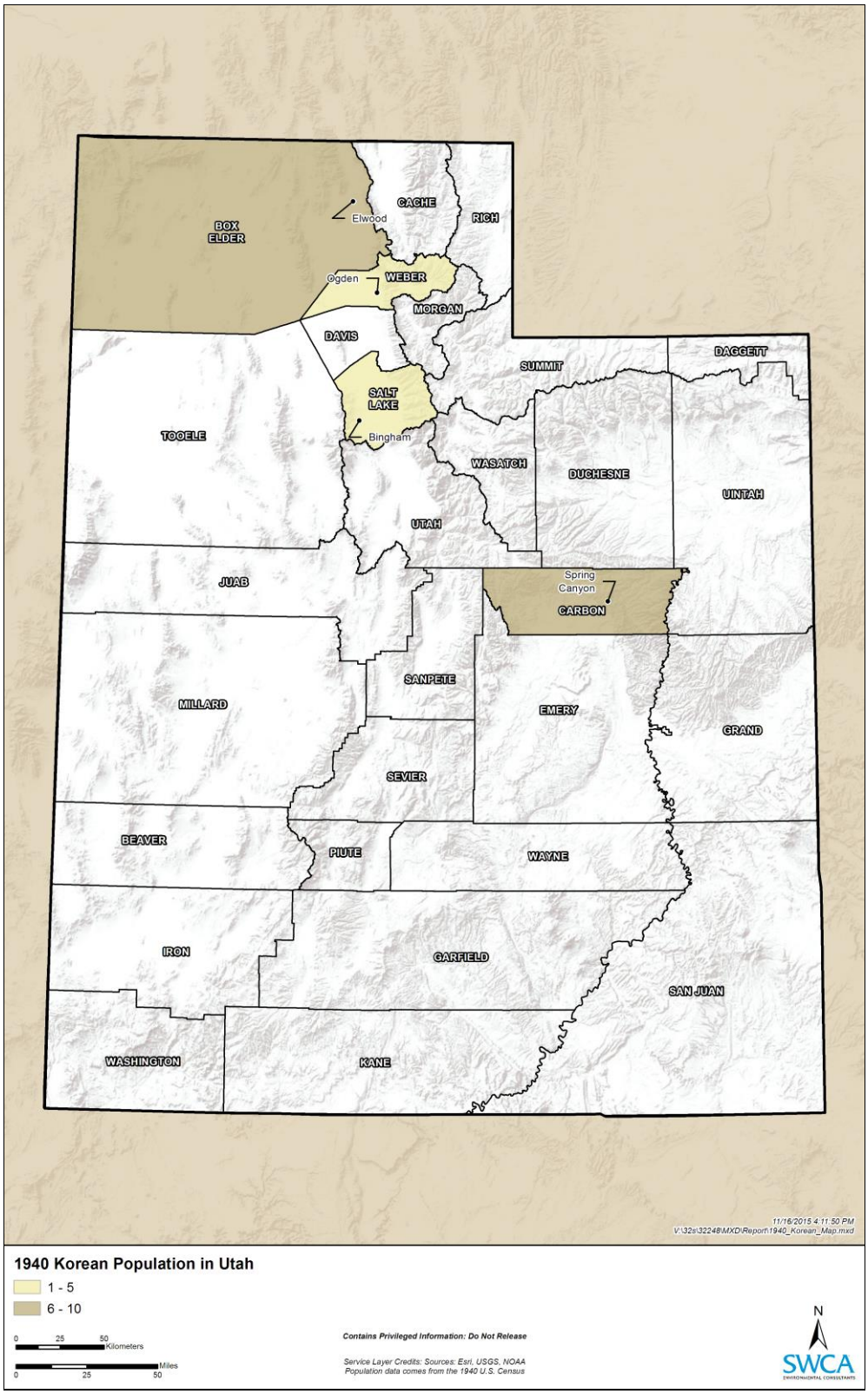

Figure 23. Distribution of Utah's Korean population at the time of the 1940 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Korean residents.

2.1.4. Filipinos

Known for its cultural diversity, the Philippines has a long and complex history. The Spanish colonized the islands beginning in the 1500s and remained until 1898, when the Philippines became a U.S. colony after America's victory in the Spanish-American War. Despite a number of revolutions and the Philippine-American War, the United States retained control of the country until it was granted independence in 1946 (Mattingley 1999:83–84).

2.1.4.1. EARLY IMMIGRATION, 1900–1945

The 1910 census is the first to record Filipinos in Utah, but the community's oral history suggests that Filipinos first arrived in Utah with the railroads around 1900 (Mattingley 1999:86). Early Filipino workers may have been mistakenly conflated with other Asian ethnic groups. Such misidentification was common; as Aida Mattingley observed, "The few [Filipinos] that came to Utah prior to 1960…were classified with the Asians as 'other.' This created poor visibility for the Filipinos" (Mattingley 1999:88). But Utah was a popular place to settle for Filipino immigrants because discrimination was less intense than in some west coast areas (Mattingley 1999:87).

The 1910 census records only two Filipinos in Utah, both living with military families at Fort Douglas who had likely brought them to the United States after serving in the Philippines. At the time of the 1910 census, Sixto Codilla was 19 and had emigrated in 1907; he worked for Capt. Joseph Clemens, a chaplain, and his wife Mary. No occupation is listed for Codilla, but the enumerator noted that he "works for board and goes to school." Pedro Balustainon, age 26, had emigrated in 1907 and lived with 2nd Lt. Edwin Butcher, his wife Elizabeth, their 2-year-old son, and Elizabeth's father. Pedro worked as a servant of general work, and the family also kept a German housemaid. Both men spoke English and could read and write (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]).

By 1920 Utah's documented Filipino population had increased to seven; all lived in Salt Lake County (Table 17 and Figure 24). Three were men in their 20s lodging in Salt Lake City's Ward 5 at 110 S. State Street; one was a college student, one was a high school student, and one served in the U.S. Army Medical Corps. The census also records one family of mixed ethnicity living in Salt Lake City's Ward 3 at 253 S. 200 West, a Filipino man who was working as a cook in a hotel and was married to an English woman; the couple had 2-year-old child. Two Filipino brothers were living at the Garfield Smelter Camp in Precinct 4 and working as smelter laborers. One man lived in Murray and worked as a laborer at the sampling mill; he had emigrated in 1913.

Anti-Asian legislation that was passed after World War I meant that immigration from Japan and China essentially ceased. Filipinos, as citizens of a U.S. territory, were exempt from these restrictions and immigrated in larger numbers during the 1920s and early 1930s. At the time of the 1930 census, there were 164 Filipinos in Utah—163 men and one woman—living in five counties (Table 18 and Figure 25). Most of these people were born between 1900 and 1910, although some were older. Most had come to the United States while in their late teens or early twenties, between 1916 and 1929.

Occupations in 1930 varied widely but were typical of those available to immigrants based on geographic location. It appears that when Filipinos lived in towns they often worked in service positions and when they lived in rural areas they were generally employed as railroad workers, miners, or farm workers. For example, in Salt Lake City, 18 lived and worked at St. Mark's Hospital (in its former location at 809 North 200 West) as orderlies, cooks, an elevator operator, and a milkman.[17] Many other Filipinos were

[17] St. Mark's Hospital was the first in Salt Lake City. Founded by Episcopal Bishop Rev. Daniel S. Tuttle in 1872 with the support of his congregation and prominent local businessmen, it changed locations multiple times. The facility at 800 North 200

employed as servants or houseboys in private homes, including the sole female member of the contingent, August Arisa. Born in 1908, Arisa emigrated in 1927 and worked for the Schulte family at 1260 East 500 South. Others worked as cooks, one was a barber, and a few were soldiers at Fort Douglas (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

The seven Filipinos living in Precinct 10 (Copperfield) at the "Korean Camp" were employed as miners, trackmen, and cooks for the copper mine. In Weber County, a large group of Filipinos was employed with railroads—86 worked in West Warren as part of a railroad crew for the Southern Pacific Railroad. The single Filipino in Ogden also worked for the railroad. Of the seven Filipinos in Carbon County, five were miners, while one worked for the railroad and another was employed at a pool hall owned by a Japanese man. In Box Elder County one Filipino railroad worker was employed in Boothe Valley, and there were two farmworkers in Fielding. Two Filipino farm workers worked in Davis County, one in Layton and one in Bountiful (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]).

As U.S. nationals, Filipinos were initially exempt from the various restrictions imposed on Asian immigration during this period—particularly the Immigration Act of 1924. But the passing of the Tydings-McDuffie Act (also known as the Philippine Independence Act) in 1934 "changed the status of the Filipinos from American nationals to aliens" (Mattingley 1999:88). It also established a yearly quota of 50 Filipino immigrants to America (Corpus Juris 2014). The Tydings-McDuffie Act was followed by the Filipino Repatriation Act, which offered subsidized transportation back to the Philippines for Filipinos who had newly become aliens in the United States (Johansen 2015). As Mattingley notes, the Repatriation Act "tried to entice [Filipinos] to leave the United States. Free passage back to the Philippines on U.S. ships was one of the enticements" (Mattingley 1999:88).

It appears that many Filipinos resisted this offer. In 1940 about 50 Filipinos were living and working in the state, primarily in Salt Lake City, Bingham, and the coal mining towns of Carbon County (Table 19 and Figure 26). Many of those in Salt Lake City continued to work at St. Mark's Hospital, living in the dormitory there, while others worked as household servants in the wealthier neighborhoods of the city (including one on Haxton Place off of South Temple and one in Gilmer Park). Two were soldiers at Fort Douglas while others lived independently and held jobs as diverse as a fry cook, a music teacher, and a dressmaker. Eight men in Carbon County worked for the Spring Canyon Coal Company and lived in a boardinghouse headed by a Japanese man; all had lived elsewhere in Utah or the United States in 1935, a testament to the itinerant nature of single working-class men or the effects of the Depression on job stability, or both. Five men living together in Roy in Weber County worked as farmers on their own account, meaning that they were self-employed and not hired laborers. Similarly, the four men in Cedar City lived together at the Cedar Park Tourist Cabins on North Main Street and worked as agricultural laborers (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]).

West (now 300 West) was dedicated in 1893 and was an "impressive new brick facility [that] cost $20,000 and boasted an operating room, drug closet and 35 beds…" The site was on a trolley line and adjacent to Warm Springs, a natural mineral hot spring used for therapy. As the primary medical facility in the state and also the county hospital, St. Mark's served "hundreds of workers toiling in the mines and on the railroad" and would have been very important in the lives of many of Utah's immigrants. The hospital accepted charity patients, but a number of mining companies also contracted for medical services for their workers. The facility remained open through the Great Depression, primarily because its doctors held contracts with the Utah Copper Co., the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad, and the Utah Coal Company, all major employers of Utah's immigrant population. The North Salt Lake facility remained in use until 1973, when the hospital moved to its present location on 3900 South; the old hospital was demolished and is now a partially vacant lot to the west of Warm Springs Park (St. Mark's Hospital 2015).

2.1.4.2. IMMIGRATION IN THE POST–WORLD WAR II PERIOD, 1945–1965

Significant political and legislative shifts affected Filipino immigration during this period. In 1946, at the conclusion of World War II, the Philippines gained independence with the signing of the Treaty of Manila (United Nations 1947), while the passage of the Luce-Celler Act in the same year granted naturalization rights to Asian Americans, including Filipino immigrants (Public Broadcasting System 2000). Filipino immigration to Utah continued, but patterns shifted after the end of World War II. Many Filipinos were military personnel and their families, while others came as students or through worker exchange arrangements (Mattingley 1999:86). The increasing size of the community also resulted in the strengthening of a distinct Filipino identity in Utah (Mattingley 1999:88), although further research is required to pinpoint how that is represented in the built environment.

2.1.4.3. IMMIGRATION AFTER LEGISLATIVE REFORMS, 1965–1970

A series of legislative reforms beginning in the 1960s would dramatically change the experiences of many prospective Asian immigrants. The passage of the Immigration Act of 1965 removed the racial quota system that had previously severely restricted Asian immigration, allowing for the legal immigration of a much larger number of people from Asia than in previous decades (South Asian American Digital Archive 2014). This change in America's immigration policy reflected a wider trend of reform that was occurring simultaneously, as with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which offered the chance for more equal treatment under the law for America's non-white citizens and residents (South Asian American Digital Archive 2014).

As a result of these reforms, the 1960s saw increasing Filipino immigration to Utah. Career professionals formed a particularly important subset of Filipino immigrants during this period, including doctors, nurses, medical technicians, engineers, and teachers. Some immigrants during this period were also the spouses of Mormon missionaries (Mattingley 1999:88–89).

Table 17. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Filipino Population at the Time of the 1920 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration district	Number of Filipino Residents	Occupations
Salt Lake	Garfield	2	Smelter laborers
	Murray	1	Sampling mill laborer
	Salt Lake City	4	Hotel cook U.S. Army Medical Corps College student High school student
	TOTAL	**7**	

Table 18. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Filipino Population at the Time of the 1930 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration District	Number of Filipino Residents	Occupations
Weber	West Warren	86	Railroad section gang (Southern Pacific Railroad)
	Ogden	1	Railroad laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*87*	
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	57	Servant (private home) Housemaid/houseman Farm worker Cook Hospital orderly Milkman Elevator operator Barber
	Garfield	1	Copper smelter laborer
	Precinct 10 (Copperfield) [Bingham area]	7	Miner Trackman Cook
	SUBTOTAL	*65*	
Carbon	Peerless	2	Coal miner
	Spring Canyon	2	Coal miner
	Helper	3	Railroad worker Coal miner Pool hall worker
	SUBTOTAL	*7*	
Box Elder	Fielding	2	Farm laborers
	Boothe Valley	1	Railroad laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*3*	
Davis	Layton	1	Farm laborer
	Bountiful	1	Farm laborer
	SUBTOTAL	*2*	
	TOTAL	**164**	

Table 19. The Distribution and Occupations of Utah's Filipino Population at the Time of the 1940 U.S. Census

County	Municipality or Enumeration district	Number of Filipino Residents	Occupations
Salt Lake	Salt Lake City	31	Soldiers Hospital workers (orderlies, cooks, dishwasher, elevator man, kitchen porter) Fry cook Servant in private home Dressmaker Music teacher
	Bingham	1	Trackman (Utah Copper Mine)
Carbon	Kenilworth	3	Shovel helper (coal mine)
	Spring Canyon	8	Coal loader or laborer for Spring Canyon Coal Company
Weber	Roy	5	Farmers
Iron	Cedar City	4	Agricultural laborers
Sevier	Salina	1	Hotel guest (trucker)
	TOTAL	53	

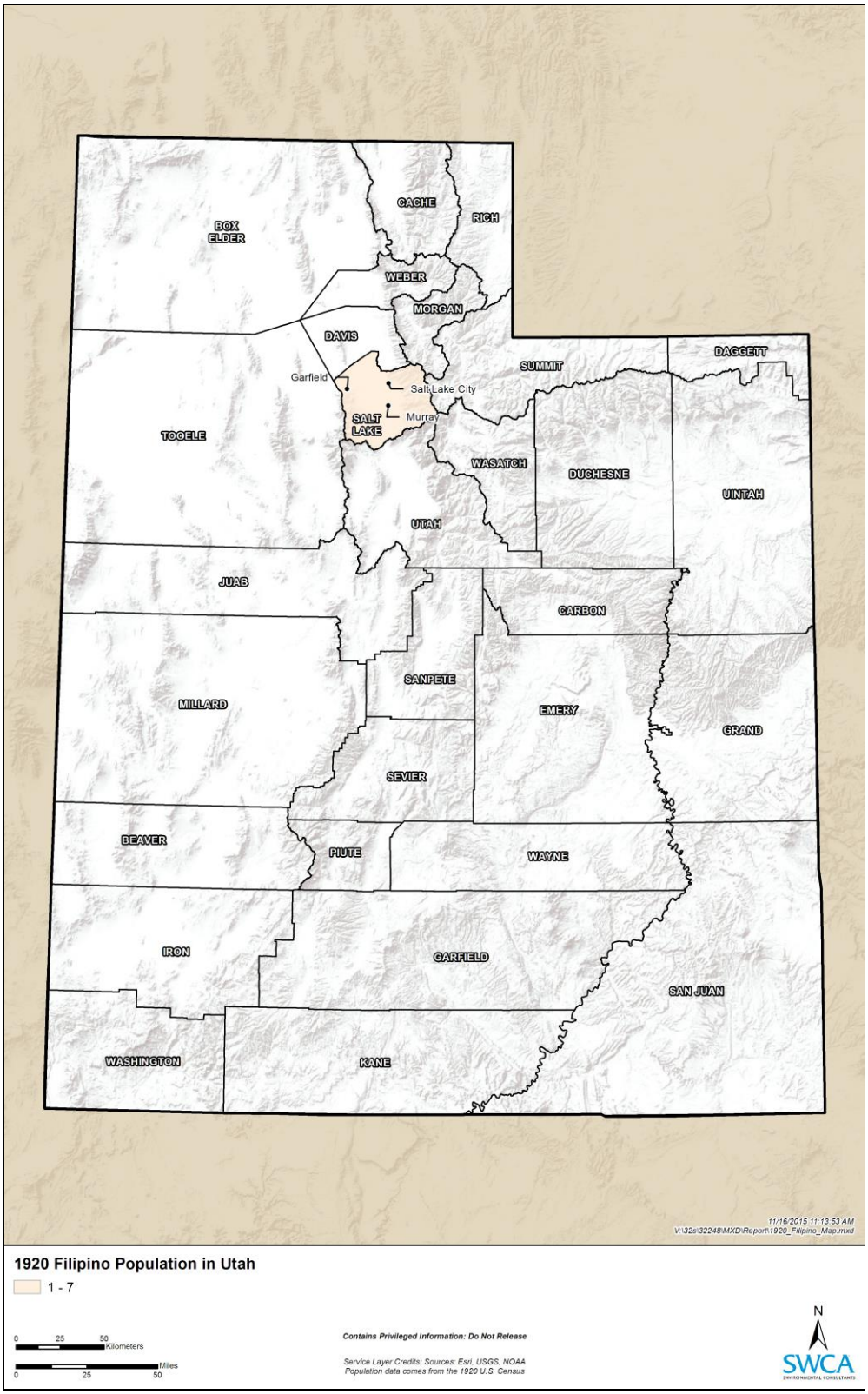

Figure 24. Distribution of Utah's Filipino population at the time of the 1920 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Filipino residents.

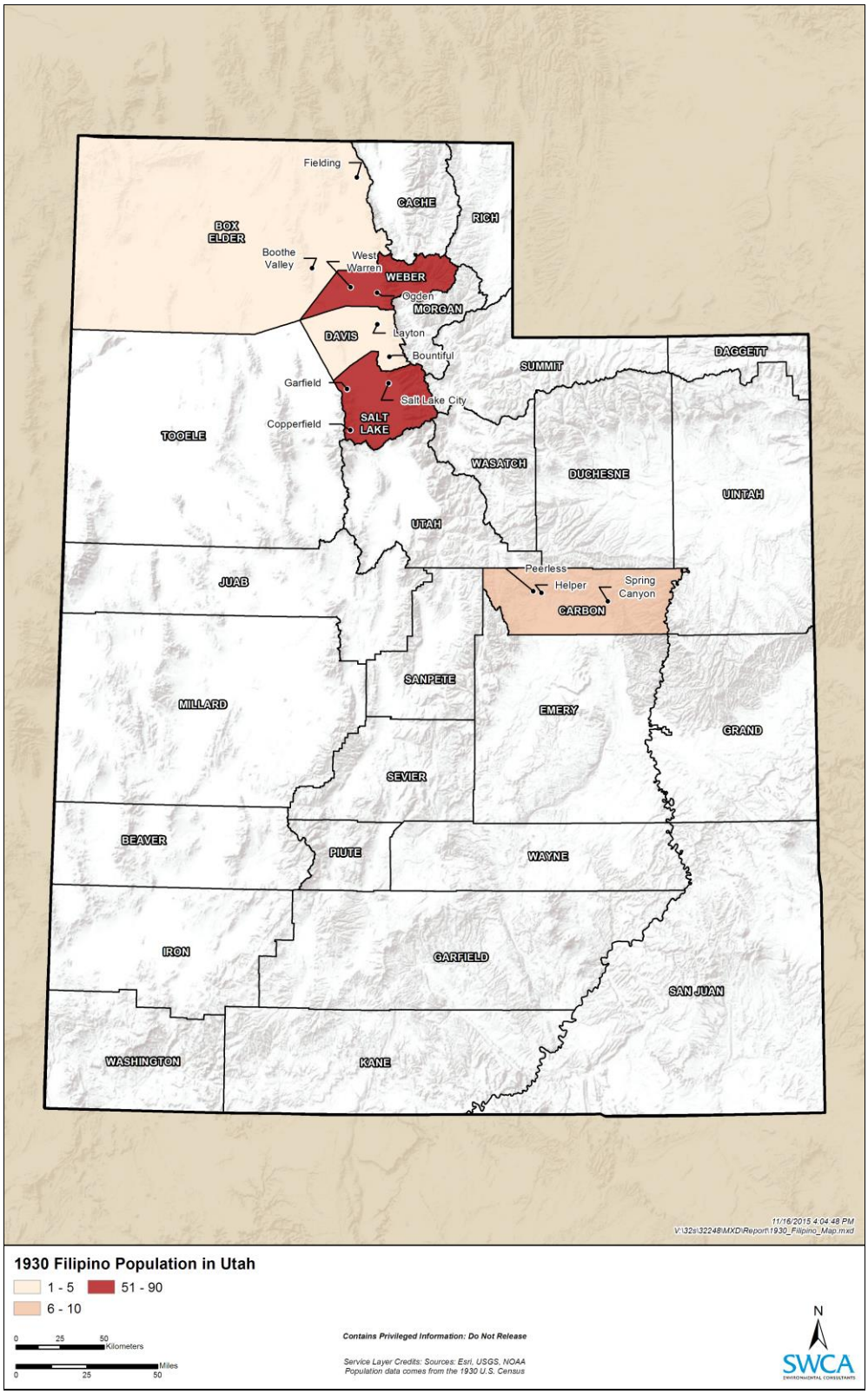

Figure 25. Distribution of Utah's Filipino population at the time of the 1930 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Filipino residents.

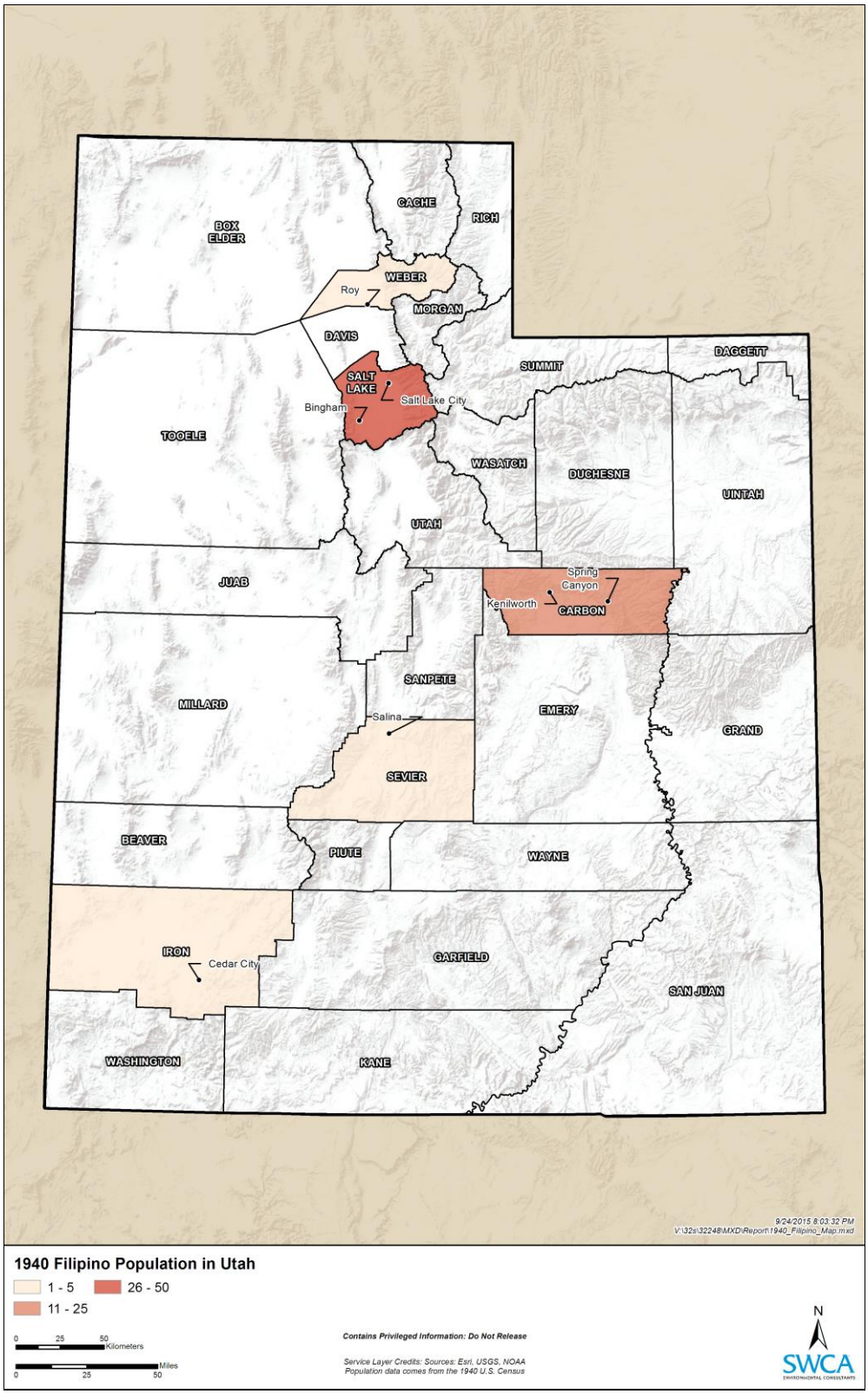

Figure 26. Distribution of Utah's Filipino population at the time of the 1940 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Filipino residents.

2.1.5. Thais

Although Utah's Thai community now forms an important component of the state's ethnic diversity, Thai immigration began relatively late compared to other Asian groups included in this literature review. Indeed, it was only in the 1960s that Thai students began to attend schools in Utah. As Suri Triabootr Suddiphayak notes, "Most [Thai students] finished school and went back to Thailand. There were few business opportunities for Thai people in this decade" (Suddiphayak 1999:198). Although Thai immigration to Utah increased in the subsequent decades, these patterns fall outside the temporal scope of this report. More information can be found in *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History* (Suddiphayak 1999).

Figure 27. Iosepa residents celebrating Pioneer Day in 1913. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.

2.2. Pacific Islanders

Pacific Islanders in Utah and their contributions to the state's heritage have not received as much scholarly research as that of the Chinese and Japanese, in part because the bulk of their history is more recent. Immigration to the United States by Pacific Islanders was initially hampered by the strict laws passed in the early part of the twentieth century, in particular the Asiatic Barred Zone Act of 1917. Thus, aside from the group of Hawaiians and other Pacific Islanders who arrived in the late nineteenth century and eventually formed the colony at Iosepa in Tooele County (Figure 27), most Pacific Islander migration to the state occurred only after the major political and social shifts resulting from World War II and, more significantly, the abolition of the national origins quota system in 1965.[18]

Since 1965, many Pacific Islanders have immigrated to Utah because of family and religious ties, and also because of the prosperous economy, educational opportunities, employment opportunities, low crime rates compared to other states, and the presence of already-established Pacific Islander communities. An important pattern in Utah's Pacific Islander population has been chain migration, whereby "prospective migrants learn of opportunities, are provided with transportation, and have initial accommodation and employment arranged by means of primary social relationships with previous migrants," often relatives or friends (MacDonald and MacDonald 1964:42). Many of those who ultimately made a home in Utah may have moved first to Hawaii and then California (Frazier 1997:55).

2.2.1. Hawaiians

The relationship between Utahns and Native Hawaiians began with the Hawaiian Mission of the LDS Church in 1850. At the time of the mission and the formation of the first Mormon community for Native Hawaiians on Lana'i in 1854, Hawaii was undergoing significant changes. Depopulation as a result of

[18] On a broader scale, the importance of the Hawaiian Islands in Asian and Pacific Islander emigration patterns to the United States cannot be overstated, beginning in 1898 when Hawaii was annexed as a United States territory and continuing through statehood in 1959. A large number of Asians were brought to the islands to work the pineapple and sugar plantations. Census records indicate that a significant number of the Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and Filipinos who eventually made their way to Utah had initially emigrated to Hawaii or had connections to those living there. The connections between Asians and Asian Americans in California and Utah is equally critical in understanding the broader scope of immigration and patterns of movement to and within the United States.

disease and the end of the traditional land tenure system were both disrupting traditional Native Hawaiian lifeways, especially as land was transferred to foreign ownership (Kester 2009:54–56). As Kester (2009:56) speculates, these shifts might have encouraged Native Hawaiians to convert to Mormonism. Indeed, the mission was successful enough that the LDS Church founded another community in La'ie on Oahu in 1864. Until the mid-1880s, however, Native Hawaiians were not permitted by their government to emigrate, preventing many Mormon converts from going to Utah (Atkin 1958:29–30; Jackson and Jackson 2008:318).

When Hawaii's emigration laws were relaxed, the government still "tried to make sure that the emigrants did not leave permanently" (Atkin 1958:30). Ultimately, however, Native Hawaiians belonging to the Mormon faith were encouraged by missionaries to go to Utah (Kester 2009:55–56). Indeed, as Kester notes, "Unlike other nineteenth century Native Hawaiian communities in the western United States…Native Hawaiian settlers in Utah came to fulfill religious commitments" (Kester 2009:53).

2.2.1.1. EARLY IMMIGRATION AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF IOSEPA (1873–1917)

Native Hawaiians were the earliest documented Pacific Islander immigrants to Utah (Kester 2009:53). The first were three young immigrants who arrived in 1873 (Kester 2009: 57). The next Native Hawaiian, J.W. Kauleinamoku, arrived in Utah in 1875 (Jackson and Jackson 2008:318). A group of eight individuals in three families arrived in 1882 with returning missionary Harvey H. Cluff (Jackson and Jackson 2008:318). The years between 1884 and 1889 saw a sharp increase in immigration, particularly after 1887 when Hawaii abolished previous emigration restrictions by the involuntary signing of the Bayonet Constitution by King Kalakaua (Kester 2009:58). By 1889, 76 Native Hawaiians were living in Salt Lake City, where they settled in a few neighborhoods mostly in the Warm Springs district north of downtown (Jackson and Jackson 2008:318; Kester 2009:52). Knight (2009:1) states more specifically that "the blocks on Reed Avenue and Fern Avenue, between Second and Third West, were the home to a group of about seventy-five Hawaiians from 1864 until 1889." He has identified at least four extant houses owned by Hawaiians during this period; further research will likely reveal the locations and possible survival of additional homes and businesses associated with these early immigrants, including the stonecutting business of Solomona Umi, who may have participated in the construction of the Salt Lake City Mormon temple (Knight 2009).

Although they were members of the LDS Church, Hawaiian converts in Utah still faced racial discrimination by both Mormons and non-Mormons. As Kester argues, "In Utah, the struggle between Mormons and non-Mormons did not so much replace the discrimination, inequality, and violence common throughout the West as it usurped it in the historical imagination" (Kester 2009:60). Issues included the regular conflation of many different Pacific Island cultures under the general term "Kanakas" (Kester 2009:61). The association between Native Hawaiians and their culture with the spread of leprosy was also an active cause of discrimination. Kester writes, "The association of Native Hawaiians with leprosy created a perception that the very presence of Native Hawaiian communities in western cities constituted a public health risk" (Kester 2009:62). Gruesome news reporting strengthened that perception, and often used it as a justification to urge immigration restrictions (Kester 2009:63–64).

This general discrimination would be capped in 1889 by a Utah Supreme Court ruling barring Native Hawaiians from U.S. citizenship. The case found Native Hawaiians "legally ineligible for United States citizenship based on their race" (Kester 2009:52). Although contemporaneous political power struggles between Mormons and non-Mormons in Utah also unquestionably influenced the decision (since the Hawaiians vying for citizenship were Mormons), the legal decision ultimately hinged on the racial identity of Hawaiians in relation to the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, marking them indelibly in the eyes of white Utahns at the time as racially "other" (Kester 2009:70–72).

It was in the same year, 1889, that the LDS Church established the Iosepa colony for the Native Hawaiian church members on a 1,920-acre ranch in Skull Valley, Utah (Arrington 1954:314; Panek 1992:66) (Figure 28). The history and archaeology of Iosepa has been extensively studied and, because of the large number of excellent academic resources already available (including a recent NRHP nomination), these topics will be discussed only briefly here. The creation of Iosepa was likely the result of linguistic and cultural barriers, difficulty in finding employment, a case of leprosy, racial prejudice, and general tensions between the Native Hawaiians and the Salt Lake City community (Panek 1992:67).

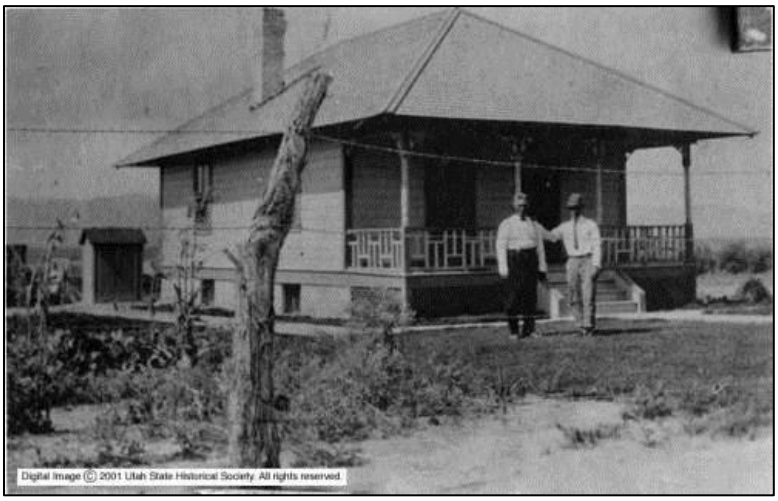

Figure 28. Iosepa residents in front of one of the original homes. Courtesy of Utah State Historical Society.

More than 100 "Hawaiian Saints" (church members) lived at Iosepa until it was abandoned in 1917 (Arrington 1954:314). Indeed, the 1900 census lists 98 Hawaiians, all of whom lived in the Grantsville precinct, which would have included Iosepa (Ancestry 2015b [1900 U.S. Census]) (Figure 29).[19] The 1910 census includes 95 Hawaiians, still listed near Grantsville (Ancestry 2015c [1910 U.S. Census]). It should be noted, however, that although most historic sources conflate all Pacific Islanders as "Hawaiian," there is evidence that Tahitians, Samoans, and Maoris also were a part of the community (Panek 1992:74–75). The primary reason Iosepa was abandoned was the decision by the LDS Church to build a temple at La'ie, Oahu, in 1915 (Atkin 1958:79; Panek 1992:76). The church offered to "provide transportation back to the Islands for those unable to pay for their own," resulting in most of the Iosepa colonists returning to their homeland; only a few remained in Utah (Atkin 1958:79–80; Panek 1992:367).

2.2.1.2. POST-IOSEPA PATTERNS (1917–1970)

The disbandment of Iosepa spelled, to a large extent, a temporary loss of Utah's Pacific Islander population. Indeed, no Hawaiians were listed in the 1920 census (Figure 30), and the 1930 census lists only 14 Hawaiians composing two family groups: one family of seven lived in Salt Lake City and another family of seven lived in Juab County (Figure 31) (Ancestry 2015d, 2015e [1920 and 1930 U.S. Census]). Based on the dates of immigration listed in the census, these individuals may have been the children of Iosepa colonists, but no firm connection has been established. In Salt Lake City, Benjamin Hoobiiaina (a Native Hawaiian), lived at 1657 Beck Street with his wife Caroline (a Native Samoan). Both had immigrated in 1902 and were 41 years old; Benjamin worked as a laborer at odd jobs while Caroline did

[19] Neither the 1900 or 1910 census lists other Pacific Islanders (Samoans, Tahitians, Fijians, Maori), although historic records note their presence. It is therefore highly likely that use of the term "Hawaiian" at that time actually referred to a mix of different Polynesian identities conflated by census takers into a single category, as was common at the time.

housework in private homes. The couple had six children, all born in Utah between 1913 and 1926. The family in Juab County was headed by Roy Purcell, a Native Hawaiian who had immigrated in 1909 and worked as a station engineer at a metal mine. Purcell was divorced but owned a house at 13 Main Street in Mammoth, where he lived with his six Utah-born children (ranging in age from 2 to 13) and a Utah-born, Euro-American female servant.

The 1940 census lists no Hawaiians or Pacific Islanders, but immigration began again after World War II (Figure 32) (Frazier 1997:41). Hawaiian statehood in 1959 presumably removed any lingering restrictions. As of the 1990 census, Native Hawaiians were living mostly in Salt Lake and Utah Counties, and constituted the majority of the Pacific Islander populations in Davis, Cache, Box Elder, and Iron Counties (Frazier 1997:38). The 2000 U.S. Census listed more than 21,000 Pacific Islanders in Utah, of whom about 15,000 identified as Native Hawaiian only (as opposed to mixed ethnicity). By 2010, these numbers had increased to about 37,000 Pacific Islanders, of whom 24,500 self-identified as Native Hawaiian only (Hixson et al. 2012:6). The continuation of artistic and cultural traditions, including storytelling, dancing, singing, chanting, and craftwork like leis and textiles, nurtures the strong community and family ties that remain within the Pacific Islander community. This strong sense of history and identity will be invaluable as researchers identify resources important to Hawaiian heritage and more properties in Utah reach historic age in the coming years.

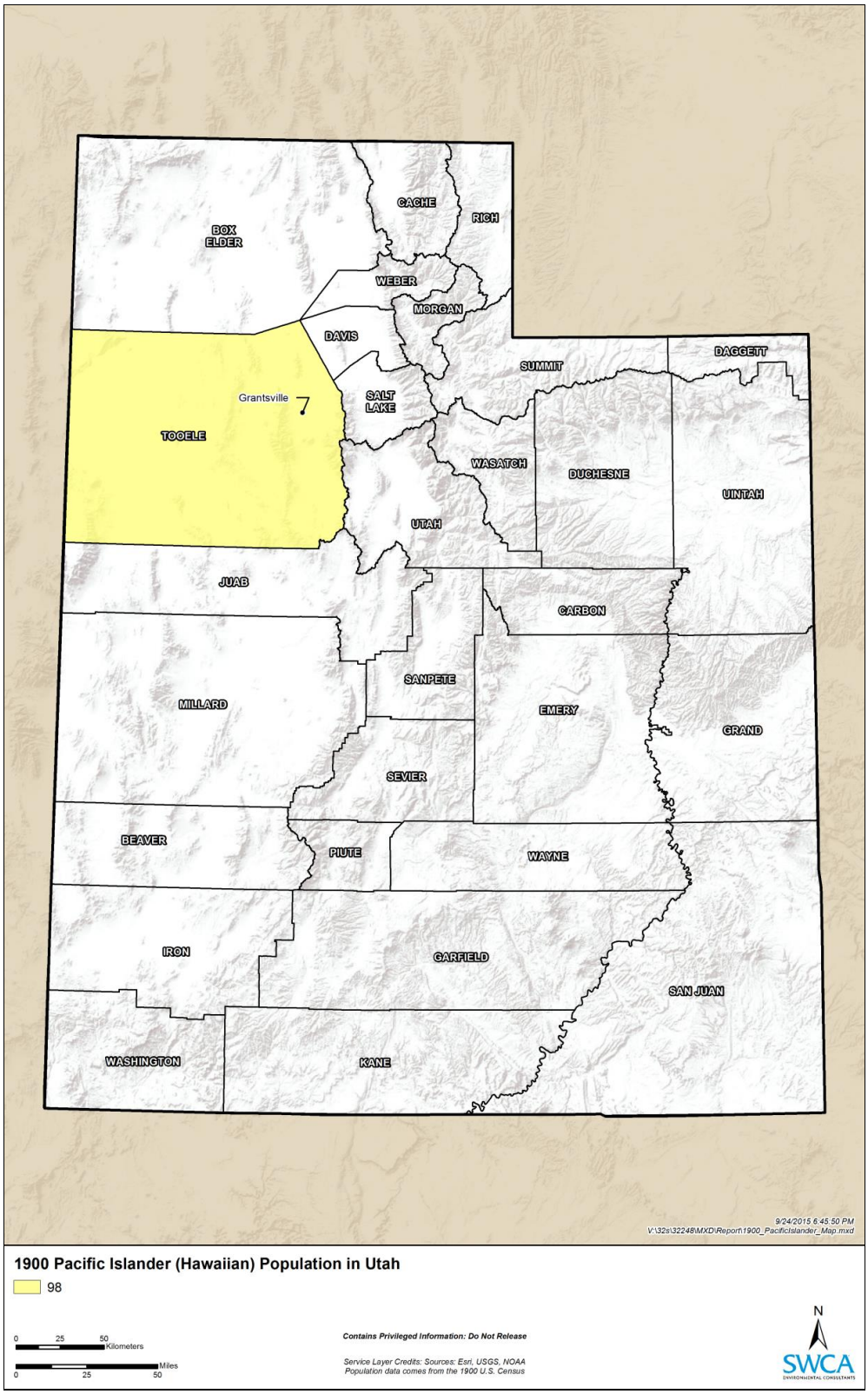

Figure 29. Distribution of Utah's Pacific Islander population at the time of the 1900 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Pacific Islander residents.

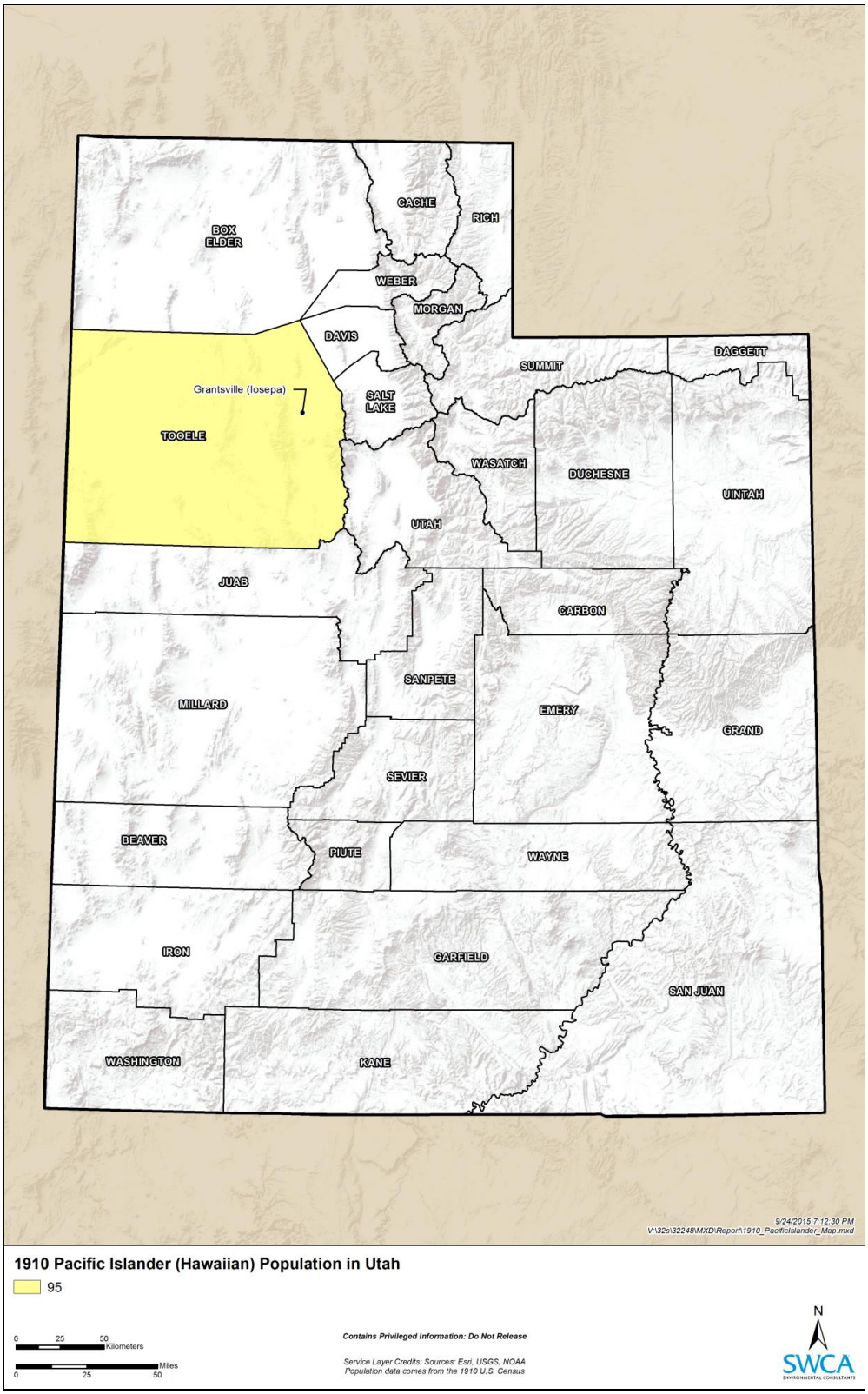

Figure 30. Distribution of Utah's Pacific Islander population at the time of the 1910 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Pacific Islander residents.

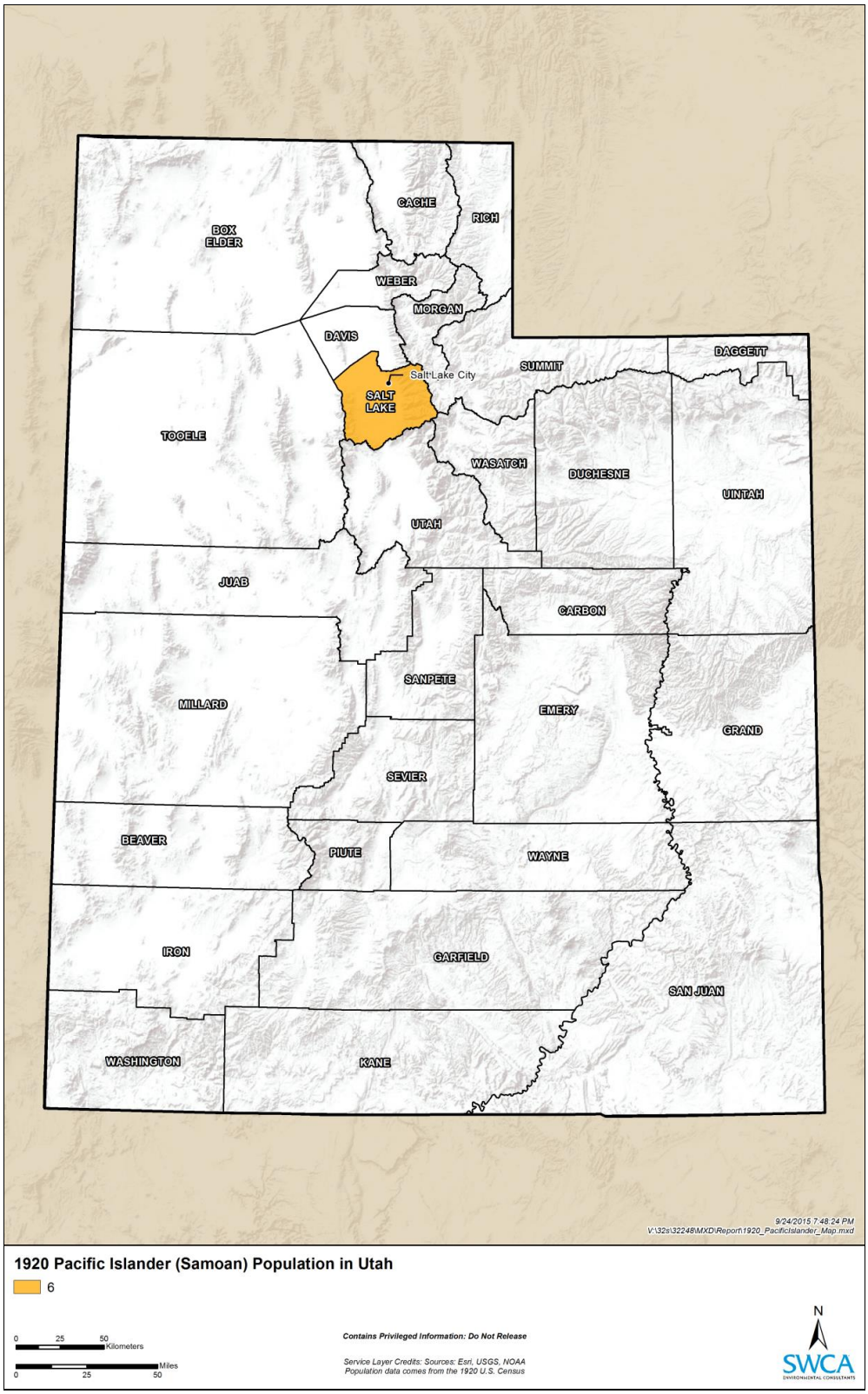

Figure 31. Distribution of Utah's Pacific Islander population at the time of the 1920 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Pacific Islander residents.

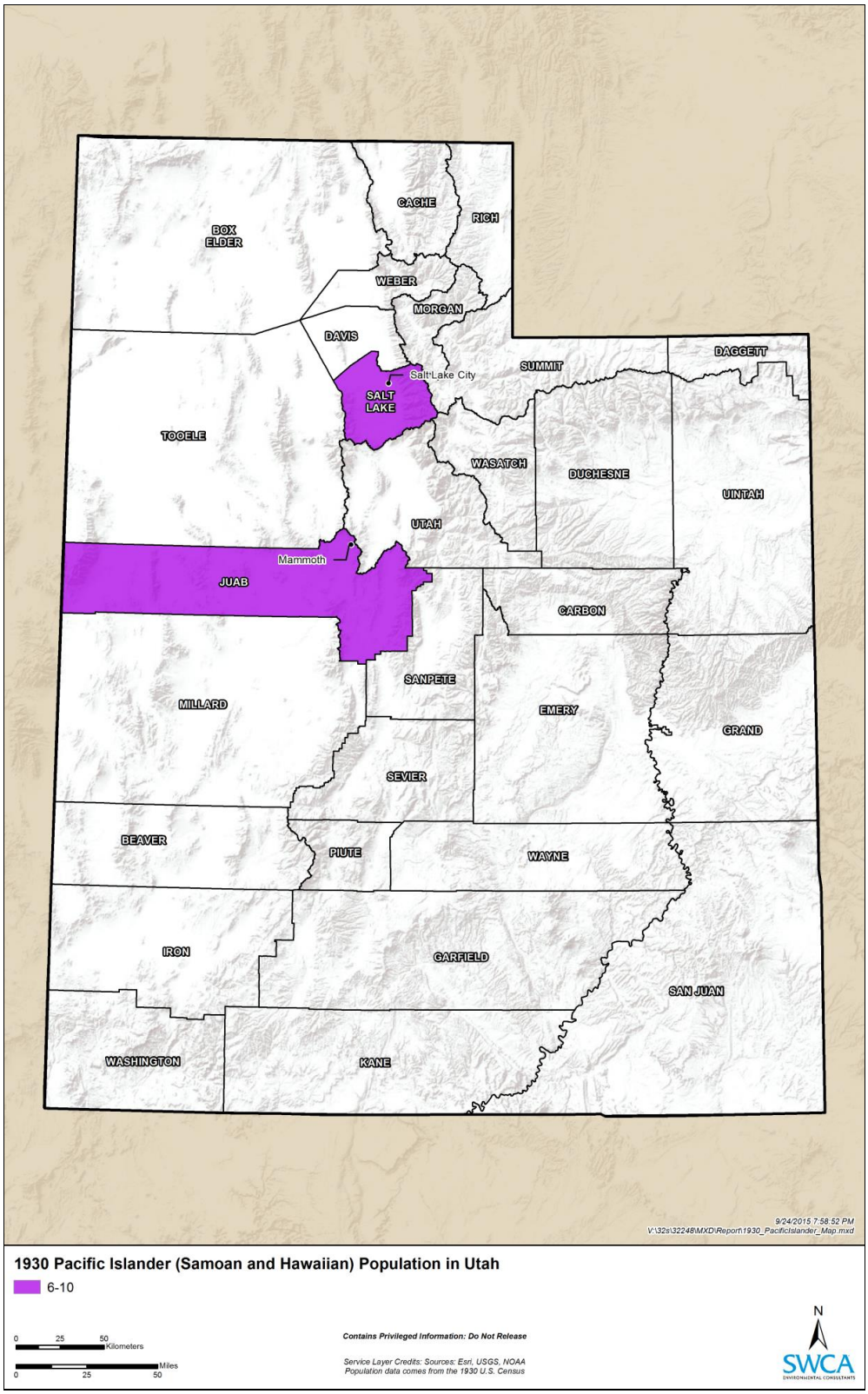

Figure 32. Distribution of Utah's Pacific Islander population at the time of the 1930 U.S. Census. All labeled towns and cities had Pacific Islander residents.

2.2.2. Samoans

The history of Samoans in Utah is not well documented, but the earliest known immigrants arrived in about 1900 as Mormon converts. One such individual, Alice Alapa, gave an account of her conversion to Mormonism in Samoa, her schooling in Provo, and her move to Iosepa (Panek 1992:64). Ultimately, she returned to Polynesia in 1916 with her husband and children. As she recalled, she initially moved to Utah out of a desire to "join in the gathering of Zion, flee persecution, and partake of temple ordinances" (Panek 1999:65).

Indeed, religion was a substantial impetus for immigration for many early Samoan immigrants, many of whom joined the community at Iosepa (see above). As Panek notes, "Immigration to Iosepa from Hawaii, Tahiti, Samoa, and New Zealand continued throughout the community's existence" (Panek 1992:74–75). An account of Iosepa's Pioneer Day in 1908 notes the presence of 13 Samoans (*Deseret Evening News* 1908, as cited in Panek 1992:75).

The eventual dissolution of the colony at Iosepa, however, resulted in the return of most of Utah's Pacific Islander population to their homelands. As Frazier notes, "By 1920, Utah was virtually devoid of Polynesians. Not until several years later would a new wave of Polynesian immigrants arrive…mostly from Tonga and Samoa" (Frazier 1997:15). Indeed, by 1930, the census listed only three Samoans, all living in Salt Lake County. One was the wife of a Hawaiian (see above) while the other two were U.S. citizens, a brother and sister who had come to the United States in 1908 as the children of an American father and a Samoan mother (Ancestry 2015e [1930 U.S. Census]). The sister, Olive Christensen, was married to Charles Christensen, a carpenter. The couple lived at 165 Beryl Street in Salt Lake City with their 2-year-old daughter and Olive's brother, Francis Kenison.

No Samoans were recorded in Utah at the time of the 1940 census (Ancestry 2015f [1940 U.S. Census]). Compared with earlier patterns, however, following waves of Pacific Islander immigration would feature an increasing proportion of Samoans and Tongans, as opposed to Native Hawaiians. Samoans, both American and Western, emigrated to the United States "in significant numbers following World War II" (Amerman 1996:62). The choice to emigrate was a result of multiple factors:

> [The burgeoning population] began to strain the limited land and resources of the islands, a prolonged drought hindered food production, and the U.S. government ended the G.I. bill of rights, which had provided some Samoans with educational and vocational training…
>
> [As well], the American military personnel who occupied Samoa introduced large amounts of cash and material goods into the island economy. Having seen what Americans possessed, many Samoans were reluctant to return to subsistence agriculture after the soldiers – and the money they brought with them – departed. (Amerman 1996: 41, 43)

Amerman reports that many Samoans chose to move to Utah based on stories they heard from Mormon missionaries, while others moved to Utah for financial and familial reasons, particularly after the U.S. Navy closed the base at Pago Pago in 1952 (Amerman 1996:43, 60–61). Once in the state, new immigrants settled mainly in Salt Lake City (Frazier 1997:15). Further research is required to gain a clear picture of immigration numbers and patterns throughout the 1950s and 1960s, but it appears that most immigration occurred after 1965, when the Hart-Celler Act eliminated the national origins quota system that had been severely restricting immigration from the Pacific Islands. As of the 1990 census, Samoans were primarily living in Salt Lake and Utah Counties, and they constituted the majority of the Pacific Islander populations in Weber, Washington, and Tooele Counties (Frazier 1997:38).

2.2.3. Tahitians and Fijians

Very limited information exists on the history of Tahitians and Fijians in Utah; for this reason these two groups have been combined in this section. The first contact between Utahns and Tahitians undoubtedly occurred during the 1840s during the establishment of a mission in the Society Islands (which include Tahiti) (Aikau 2010:486). Although historic resources indicate that Tahitians and Fijians were present in the Mormon Polynesian colony of Iosepa, it is unclear how many were present or when they arrived (Zawrotny 2002:29). No record has been found, however, of the populations' histories after the disbanding of the colony in 1917. Today, both Tahitian and Fijian immigrants and their descendants make up an important and vibrant part of Utah's culture (Semerad 2013). Most live in Salt Lake and Utah Counties and number among the 37,000 Pacific Islanders living in the state as of 2010 (Hixson et al. 2012:6).

2.2.4. Maori

Although few historical records document their presence in the state, Maori (the name for the native people of New Zealand, or Aotearoa) have long been residents of Utah. The first Maori to immigrate were two Mormon converts who arrived from New Zealand in 1884 with missionaries (Kester 2009:57–58). As with most of Utah's Pacific Islander population at the time, Maori immigrants joined the Mormon colony at Iosepa (Kester 2009). A *Deseret Evening News* article from 1908 noted the presence of six Maori at the town's Pioneer Day celebrations (*Deseret Evening News* 1908, as cited in Panek 1992:75). Although the colony was disbanded in 1917, many Polynesians "also stayed and have continued to arrive from the Pacific Islands, led here by ongoing Mormon missionary work in the region, ties to family already settled here and the promise of economic and educational betterment" (Semerad 2013).

Utah's Maori community today is strong. As the New Zealand government's *Encyclopedia of New Zealand* notes, "The most prominent Māori community in the United States is in Utah" (Walrond 2012). Plans have even been discussed for the creation of a marae (an open gathering space of cultural significance for the Maori, usually surrounded by buildings and a meeting house) in Lehi, Utah (Urbani 2003).

2.2.5. Tongans

Published literature on Tongan immigration to Utah is sparse, likely due to the relatively recent presence of the population in the state. No Tongans were recorded in the U.S. Census records for Utah through 1940, although the *Salt Lake Tribune* stated in a 2013 article on Utah's Polynesian population, "The very first Tongan in the United States is said to have come to Utah with a returning Mormon missionary in 1924, followed by another in 1936" (Semerad 2013). Tongan students also arrived in Utah in the 1950s to attend college, and, by the 1960s, Tongans had established a small community in Utah, primarily in Salt Lake County (Davidson 2011). According to another source, however, significant Tongan immigration to Utah did not occur until the 1970s and 1980s (Wurtzburg and Tavake-Pasi 2008). This increase was due largely to shifts in immigration policy, particularly the Immigration Act of 1965, which made immigration easier and allowed Tongans to sponsor family members.

Although Tongan immigration to Utah began relatively late, Utahns have a long history of contact with Tonga, largely as a result of the work of Mormon missionaries. Indeed, the first mission, led by Elder Brigham Smoot and Elder Alva J. Butler, first arrived in Tonga in 1881 (Naulu 1990:13). Tongan involvement with the LDS Church has since increased considerably, including Tongan members helping to build the Hawaiian extension of Brigham Young University in the 1960s (Naulu 1990:22–26).

Most of the Tongan immigrants came to Utah for the many of the same reasons as other Polynesians: religion, family, education, land shortages in their home country, and jobs (Frazier 1997:52–58). Under Tonga's land-tenure system, every taxpaying male 16 and older is entitled to 8.2 acres of agricultural land and 3.4 acres in a village for a home. Unfortunately, the country does not have enough land to accommodate all of the eligible men (Frazier 1997:56).

Several collected oral histories indicate that early immigrants to Salt Lake County lived in the Avenues and Sugar House neighborhoods in Salt Lake City and in Holladay, while later groups established themselves in West Valley City (Wurtzburg and Tavake-Pasi 2008). According to the 1990 census, Tongans were primarily settled in Salt Lake, Utah, and Kane Counties (Frazier 1997:38).

3. HISTORIC PROPERTIES FILE SEARCH RESULTS

From late May through early July 2015, UDSH staff and volunteers conducted a search of records in PreservationPro, the state's architecture and archaeology database, by using keywords relating to Asian and Pacific Islander ethnic and cultural groups. These keywords identified 204 previously documented archaeological resources and 62 previously documented architectural resources with a possible connection to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah.

3.1. Archaeological Resources

The initial file search revealed that archaeological resources related to Asians and Pacific Islanders were distributed across 17 Utah counties (Table E1 in Appendix E). SWCA further evaluated file search results to identify and remove resources that demonstrated a very weak connection or little or no potential for further research (Table E2 in Appendix E). After this process, the number of archaeological resources was reduced to 166; these were distributed among 15 counties (Table 20; Figures 33–35). Almost one-third of the sites were concentrated in Carbon County, but Tooele, Box Elder, and Juab Counties were also well-represented. Almost all of the archaeological resources were associated with railroads, mining (particularly coal mining), or townsites associated with mines. The majority of resources, 62, were grouped under "Asian," indicating either definitive or potential associations with both the Chinese and Japanese, while 52 resources were associated with only the Japanese and 45 with only the Chinese. Seven resources were affiliated with Pacific Islanders, although all of these are associated with the settlement at Iosepa and will likely be included in a pending NRHP nomination for the district.

A total of 20 archaeological resources are currently listed on the NRHP, 15 as part of the Tintic Mining District (Juab County), two as part of the Golden Spike National Historic Site (Box Elder County), and the remaining three in association with the townsite of Terrace (Box Elder County), the Union Pacific/Central Pacific Railroad (Box Elder County), and the Dalton Wells Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) Camp (Grand County). Nearly all of the NRHP-listed resources would benefit from additional research to expand our knowledge and understanding of the Chinese and Japanese temporal and spatial presence in these places; their working, domestic, social, spiritual, and political lives and experiences; their contributions to the state's heritage; and the influence of Utah's other peoples and cultures on their own ways of life.

Table 20. Summary of the Utah Division of State History File Search for Archaeological Resources Potentially Related to Asian and Pacific Islander Heritage in Utah

County	Number of Archaeological Resources	Property Types	Ethnic Affiliation*
Beaver	7	Mining, railroad, artifact scatters	2 Asian 4 Chinese 1 Japanese
Box Elder	18	Railroad, railroad townsites	17 Chinese 1 Japanese
Cache	1	Railroad	1 Asian
Carbon	52	Coal mining, railroad, mining townsites	17 Asian 2 Chinese 33 Japanese
Emery	11	Coal mining, mining townsites, railroad	4 Asian 1 Chinese 6 Japanese
Grand	9	Railroad, coal mining, townsites, relocation center	3 Asian 4 Chinese 2 Japanese
Iron	1	Coal mining	1 Asian
Juab	19	Mining, railroad, mining townsites, artifact scatters	12 Asian 6 Chinese 1 Japanese
San Juan	1	Mining	1 Asian
Salt Lake	3	Mining	1 Asian 1 Chinese 1 Japanese
Tooele	27	Mining, townsites, railroad	11 Asian 5 Chinese 4 Japanese 7 Pacific Islander
Uintah	6	Coal and Gilsonite mining, railroad	3 Asian 1 Chinese 2 Japanese
Utah	5	Railroad, mining townsite	2 Asian 3 Chinese
Weber	2	Railroad, bridge	1 Chinese 1 Japanese
Washington	4	Townsites, mining, ditch	4 Asian

*The category “Asian” indicates that the resource has a possible affiliation with the Japanese or Chinese, or both.

Recommendations for further work on each of the archaeological resources are included in Appendix E. Of 166 sites, 93 were considered to have high or medium potential for further research and/or fieldwork that might lead to NRHP listing. Even without further research, 24 resources are likely to be very strong candidates for listing on the NRHP, either individually or as part of a historic district (Table 21). These include townsites associated with railroad in Box Elder County, a segment of the Union Pacific/Utah Northern railroad alignment in Box Elder County (although the site is listed in Cache County), a mining camp and mining townsites in Carbon County, all 15 resources associated with the Tintic Mining District in Juab County, a mining town in Juab County, and, as a very general recommendation, any railroad alignment constructed prior to about 1920.

Table 21. Archaeological Resources Identified during the Utah Division of State History File Search that are Strongly Recommended for Further Research and Potential National Register of Historic Places Listing or Listing Expansion

Site Number	Site Name/Type	Comments
42BO1741	Seco Townsite	Significant potential for additional fieldwork and archival research for Chinese residents. Any data recovery could be impacted by observed previous vandalism and looting.
42BO1743	Kelton Townsite	Significant potential for additional fieldwork and archival research for Chinese residents. Any data recovery could be impacted by observed previous vandalism and looting.
42CA0088	Utah Northern Railroad	Segment C in Box Elder County may have intact temporary shelters nearby because it is north of Collinston. Additional fieldwork and archival research are recommended to identify any Asian workers associated with the site.
42CB0469	Mutual: Coal mine, tipple, and domestic structures	Higher potential for Japanese residents in the domestic structure areas and lower potential in the mine areas. Additional archival research and fieldwork is needed.
42CB0476	Standardville Townsite	Significant Japanese presence. Potential for additional archival research and fieldwork, especially in residential areas.
42CB0489	Latuda Townsite	Significant Japanese presence. Potential for additional archival research and fieldwork, especially in residential areas.
42CB0515	Royal (Rolapp) Townsite	Significant Japanese presence. Potential for additional archival research and fieldwork, especially in residential areas.
42EM1642	Historic Mining Town of Mohrland, Utah, and Associated Mine Workings	Significant potential for additional fieldwork and archival research. Recent aerial imagery shows foundation remains. Japanese workers were housed in clusters in Cedar Creek.
42JB1253; 42JB1255; 42JB1256; 42JB1257; 42JB1258; 42JB1260; 42JB1269; 42JB1271; 42JB1272; 42JB1273; 42JB1275; 42JB1283; 42JB1353; 42JB1623; 42JB1665	All associated with Tintic Mining NRHP District	Additional fieldwork and archival research could identify and expand on the roles and lives of non-Euro-Americans. The existing NRHP nomination does briefly mention Chinese and Japanese residents in the district, but does not discuss them in detail.
42TO0262	Mercur Townsite	Significant Chinese and Japanese presence. Potential for additional archival research and fieldwork, especially in residential areas.
Any railroad alignment constructed prior to 1920	Union Pacific Railroad; Utah Northern Railroad; Denver & Rio Grande Railroad; Transcontinental Railroad; Central Pacific Railroad	Re-examine railway resources for evidence of dugouts or platforms from Asian workers within the railroad right-of-way. Conduct additional archival research to identify Asian workers in the company records and where they may have worked, particularly temporary camps and more permanent section camps.

A comparison between the results of the file search and the results of the literature review quickly reveals that a great number of places, occupations, and activities associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah are not represented in the archaeological record. Most striking is the absence of resources in the densely settled areas of cities, like the Chinatowns and Japan Towns of Salt Lake City and Ogden; the Chinatowns of smaller cities and towns like Silver Reef, Corinne, and Park City; and ethnic camps associated with mill and smelter sites in Salt Lake and Tooele Counties. Perhaps the greatest loss is that of the ethnic melting pot that was Bingham, including the adjacent towns and camps in and around the Bingham Canyon drainage, most of which have been destroyed or buried by open pit copper mining activities. Also missing from the record are resources associated with agricultural activities, particularly in rural and semi-rural areas of northern Utah in counties like Davis, Weber, Box Elder, Cache, and Salt Lake, and, to the south, in Sanpete County, but also in urban areas where empty lots in places like Salt Lake City and Ogden were intensely cultivated as market gardens. Industrial archaeological resources also lack representation, including those associated with agricultural processing (particularly of sugar

beets), as do many of the later railroad alignments and section camps associated with Japanese workers from the 1920s through the 1940s. And finally, less-populous Asian ethnic groups (Koreans, Filipinos, and Thais) are not apparent in the archaeological record, nor are Pacific Islanders outside of Iosepa.

3.2. Architectural Resources

The initial UDSH file search resulted in a total of 62 potential architectural resources associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. SWCA further evaluated the file search results, and resources that were constructed after the historic period (after 1970), that had been demolished, or that had no apparent connection to the research topic were deleted from the list. After this process, the number of architectural resources was reduced to 33; nine have a definitive connection and 24 have a potential connection to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage. Figures 3–5 illustrate resources that have a definitive connection. SWCA then expanded the list to include individual resources and historic districts that did not show up in the UDSH file search but that are presently listed on the NRHP and that have a strong potential for association with Asians or Pacific Islanders. In all, 57 potential resources in 13 counties were identified (Table 22 and Appendix F). These consist of 18 historic districts (or district expansions) and 39 individual resources, including railroad buildings, laundries, mining sites, and buildings associated with the sugar beet industry.

Most potential resources were in Salt Lake County, followed by Weber and Juab Counties. Of the individual architectural resources, many were associated with railroads and mining, while others were associated with occupations like the laundry business or industries like sugar beet processing. Eighteen of the potential resources are historic districts in major cities like Salt Lake City and Ogden or mining and railroad towns like Park City, Eureka, Mammoth, and Helper. None of the district nominations focus on Asians and Pacific Islanders and may mention them only briefly, if at all. Nonetheless, the districts have a high potential for resources that can be further studied, added to an expanded nomination, or listed individually.

The majority of architectural resources (33) were grouped under “Asian,” indicating either definitive or potential associations with both the Chinese and Japanese; 17 resources are associated with only the Japanese, and four are associated with only the Chinese. Three resources were affiliated with Asians and Pacific Islanders, namely historic districts that may have included residences and/or businesses associated with these ethnicities.

More than half of the potential architectural resources (30) are currently listed on the NRHP, including the 18 historic districts in Cache, Carbon, Davis, Juab, Salt Lake, Summit, Utah, and Weber Counties. Only two listed resources are specifically associated with Asians or Pacific Islanders: the Central Utah Relocation Center (Topaz) and the Japanese Church of Christ. Nearly all of the NRHP-listed resources would benefit from additional research to expand our knowledge and understanding of Asians and Pacific Islanders in Utah and their lives in these places.

Table 22. Summary of Utah Division of State History File Search for Architectural Resources Potentially Related to Asian and Pacific Islander Heritage in Utah

County	Number of Archaeological Resources	Property Types	Potential Ethnic Affiliation*
Cache	4	Railroad, laundry, urban district	3 Asian 1 Japanese
Carbon	1	Urban district	1 Japanese
Davis	1	Urban district	1 Japanese
Juab	6	Mining, railroad	5 Asian 1 Asian/Pacific Islander
Millard	4	Relocation camp, railroad	1 Asian 3 Japanese
Salt Lake	21	Laundry, private residence, orphanage, church, urban districts	13 Asian 2 Asian/Pacific Islander 1 Chinese 5 Japanese
Sanpete	3	Sugar beet processing, laundry, relocated Topaz building	1 Asian 2 Japanese
Sevier	1	Sugar beet processing	1 Japanese
Summit	4	Railroad, monument, urban district	2 Asian 1 Chinese 1 Japanese
Tooele	1	Railroad	1 Asian
Utah	2	Urban districts	2 Asian
Washington	2	Mining townsite (Silver Reef)	2 Chinese
Weber	7	Urban districts, railroad, church	5 Asian 2 Japanese

*The category “Asian” indicates that the resource has a possible affiliation with the Japanese or Chinese, or both.

Recommendations for further research on each of the architectural resources identified in the file search are included in Appendix F. In addition to further research within all historic districts (which can be followed by expansion of the NRHP nomination and/or the boundaries of the district), two resources are strongly recommended for individual listing: the Edward D. Hashimoto House in Salt Lake City (included within the University Historic District but almost certainly eligible for individual listing) and the Ogden Japanese Union Church.

As with archaeological resources, a comparison between the results of the architecture file search and the results of the literature review reveals that a great number of places, occupations, and activities associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah are not represented in the architectural record. By their nature, architectural resources are easier to identify and list on the NRHP than are archaeological resources, making the dearth of representation even more striking. One factor is that many buildings and structures associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage, particularly in the early years of immigration, were ephemeral. Others were abandoned at the first opportunity for economic or social improvement, and yet more were in the poorer or less-developed areas of cities and towns that were often the target for redevelopment and expansion. This is amply illustrated by the demolition of Salt Lake City’s Chinatown in 1952 and much of Japan Town in the 1960s.

Research into a large number of possibly extant architectural resources is required. Property types such as private residences, rooming houses, hotels, the built remains of camps and company towns, businesses, other places of work, industrial buildings, ranches, farms and farm buildings, agricultural landscapes, designed landscapes, religious buildings, social and cultural buildings, health care facilities, monuments, and cemeteries are associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah, but they remain invisible due to lack of identification and documentation. Because so few may survive, the effort to identify them is urgent because architecture is the most visible physical embodiment of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah.

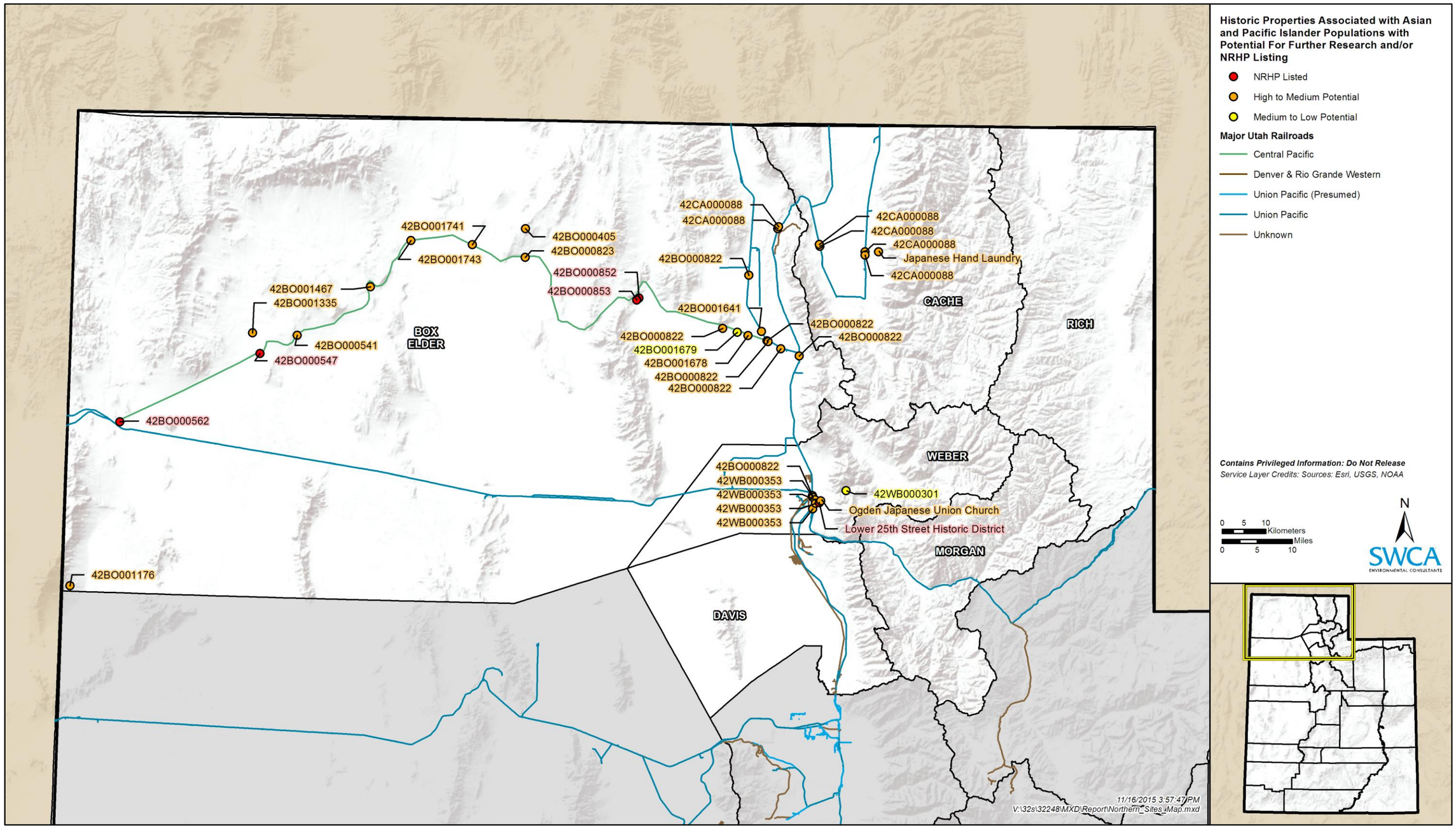

Figure 33. Historic properties in northern Utah that were identified in the UDSH file search and that may be associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in the state.

This page intentionally blank

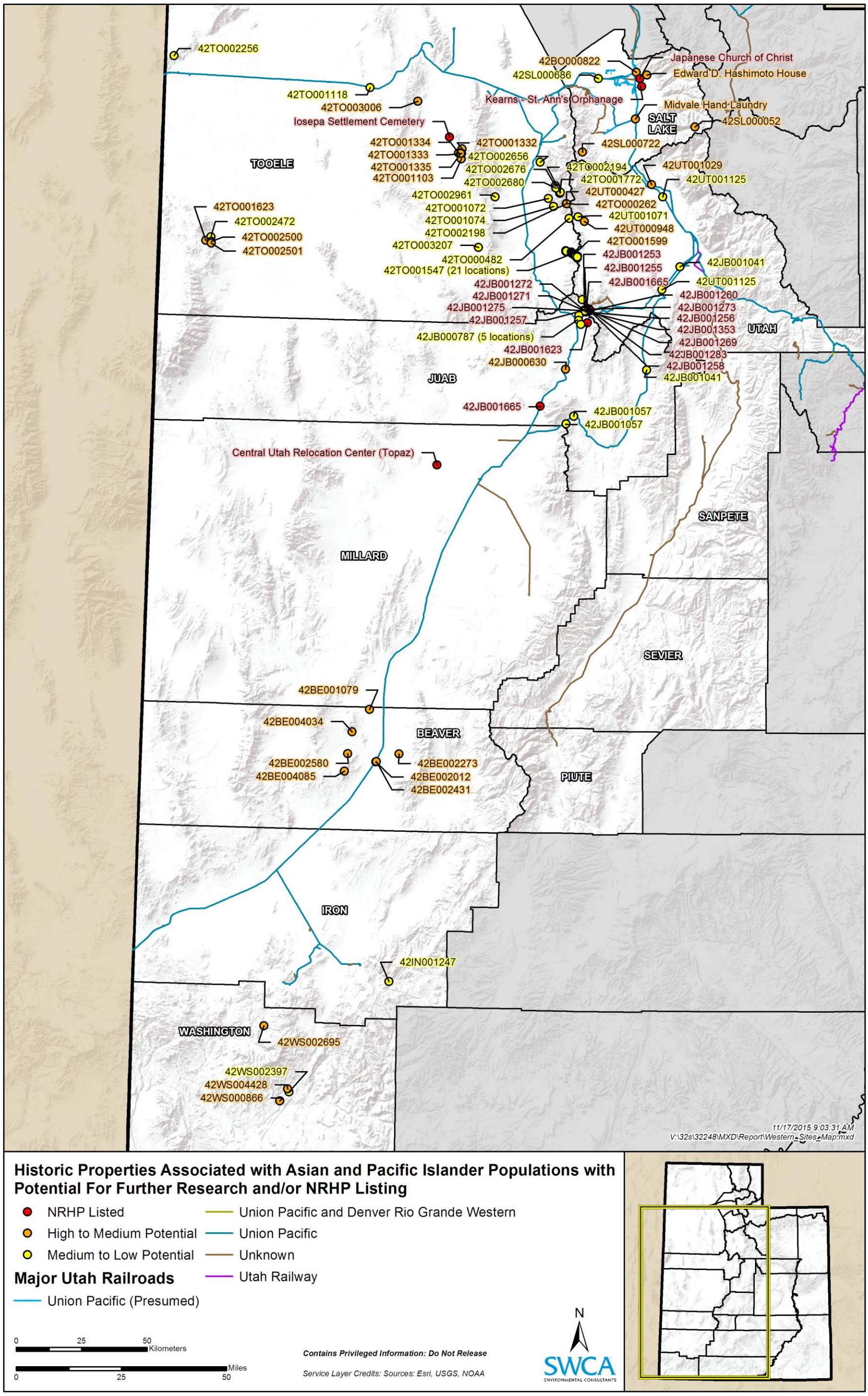

Figure 34. Historic properties in western Utah that were identified in the UDSH file search and that may be associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in the state.

This page intentionally blank

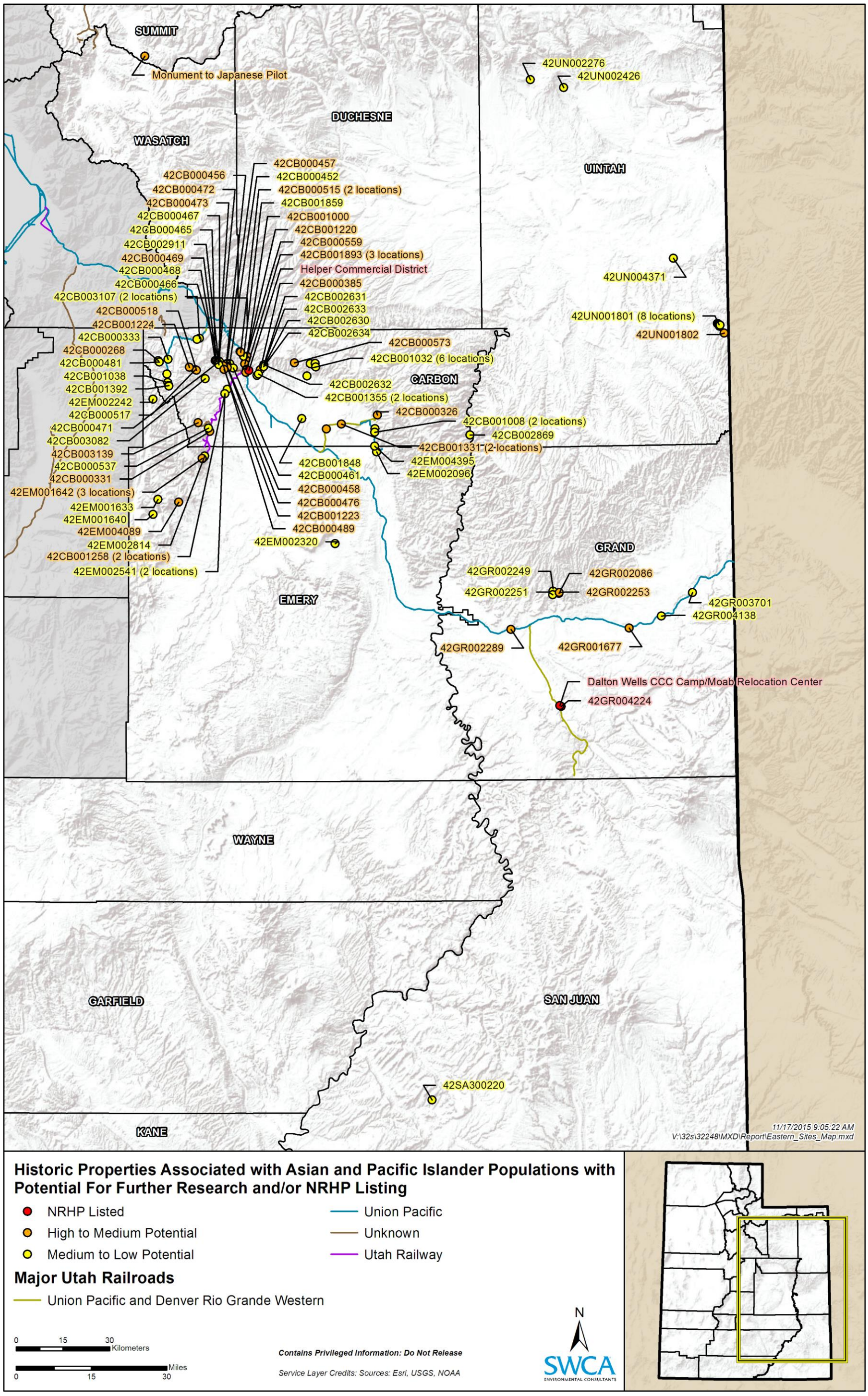

Figure 35. Historic properties in eastern Utah that were identified in the UDSH file search and that may be associated with Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in the state.

This page intentionally blank

4. HISTORIC PROPERTY TYPES AND RECOMMENDED APPROACHES FOR EVALUATION AND LISTING ON NATIONAL REGISTER OF HISTORIC PLACES

It is hoped that the results of this report will be used to expand the awareness of Asian and Pacific Islander history and heritage in Utah. The literature review can facilitate a more balanced representation of Asians and Pacific Islanders both in the records of UDSH and, for the most important resources, on the NRHP, by illuminating where people were in time and place, what they were doing, and how they were living. Increased awareness of Asian and Pacific Islander history in the state will be crucial during future archaeological and architectural surveys, when it can be used to strengthen the potential for identifying related properties, including buildings, structures, objects, sites, and districts.

The file search results make clear that we have only begun the process of identifying historic and archaeological resources related to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage, and that we can define many more types of properties that may be significant and eligible for NRHP listing under all four criteria:

A. Properties that are associated with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history

B. Properties that are associated with the lives of persons significant in our past

C. Properties that embody the distinctive characteristics of a type, period or method of construction, or that represent the work of a master, or that possess high artistic values, or that represent a significant and distinguishable entity whose components may lack individual distinction

D. Properties that have yielded, or may be likely to yield, information important in prehistory or history

Associated property types for each ethnic or cultural group are summarized in the followings sections. Identifying these properties will require additional research and field surveys in almost all cases, and for several reasons. The first is that the type of directed research that can lead to NRHP listings has been conducted for only a few ethnic groups and associated property types, primarily the Chinese and early railroads, the Pacific Islanders and the settlement at Iosepa, and the Japanese and World War II relocation camps. The same process is required for other aspects of Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in the state. These include properties related to domestic life and specific industries, such as Chinese urban resources (from Chinatowns to market gardens); Japanese involvement with railroads, mines, farms, and orchards, and other pre-and post-relocation occupations; Filipino properties associated with railroads, health care, military service, and domestic work; and Hawaiians and Samoans and properties related to life and urban occupations in Utah cities and towns. Similarly, few properties related to business or social organizations, churches, and schools have been identified for most of these communities.

A second reason is that little work has been conducted on recognizing significant individuals from each ethnic or cultural group and then identifying properties associated with their lives and work. This will be an important avenue of research and must involve descendant communities in identifying those people and properties possibly eligible under Criterion B. A large number of known properties discussed in the literature review have been destroyed or have not been physically located and evaluated. Some of these may retain sufficient integrity to be eligible as archaeological sites under Criterion D, but identifying and documenting extant known properties and finding as yet unrecognized properties will require additional fieldwork and research.

Significant historic properties that retain the aspects of integrity critical to their significance (location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and/or association) can be nominated to the NRHP as individual listings, as historic districts, or as thematically related properties under the broader umbrella of a multiple property documentation form (MPDF). The preparation of MPDFs is recommended for the Chinese and Japanese, who historically have had large populations in Utah before 1970 and, correspondingly, a large number of potentially significant and thematically related resources associated with their heritage. For Koreans, Filipinos, Thais, and Pacific Islanders, who were present in far fewer numbers before 1970, only a few resources related to their heritage and that meet the NRHP criteria for listing may remain. For these groups, individual property or district nominations may be a more effective approach for NRHP listing.

MPDFs are also appropriate for Chinese and Japanese heritage because the related resources are geographically scattered, diverse, and may be identified and nominated to the NRHP over an extended period of time. The MPDFs will serve as a cover document and provide a basis for evaluating the NRHP eligibility of thematically related properties, including buildings, sites, structures, objects, and districts (National Park Service 1999). For these two ethnic groups, recommendations for the multiple property listing name and associated historic contexts are presented below. In addition, associated property types and subtypes are also presented, with known sites identified in the file search and anticipated sites as identified in the literature review presented (Tables 23 and 24). For other Asian groups and Pacific Islanders, associated property types and potentially eligible properties are summarized more briefly below.

4.1. Properties Associated with Chinese Heritage

The Chinese had a significant presence in Utah between the late 1860s and 1890s and then a small but consistent population through 1970. The multiple property listing name, associated historic contexts, and associated property types and subtypes for Chinese heritage in Utah are presented below, along with a summary of potentially eligible properties identified in the file search and the literature review. Many of these properties have disappeared, including all of the Chinatowns. Confirming the survival of all documented properties was beyond the scope of this project, but their status is included when known. Those properties that have been demolished or otherwise lost are included in the lists anyway because some may be eligible as archaeological sites.

Multiple Property Listing Name
Architectural and Archaeological Resources Associated with Chinese Heritage in Utah

Associated Historic Contexts
Early Immigration and Railroad Work, 1865–1885
A Shift to Urban Centers, 1885–1916
Depopulation and the Decline of Utah's Chinatowns, 1917–1951
Changing Laws and New Immigration, 1952–1970

Table 23. Property Types Associated with Chinese Heritage in Utah, including Known and Potential Properties

Associated Property Types	Associated Subtypes	Examples	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in File Search	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in Literature Review*
Resources associated with railroads	Railroad alignments and features associated with Chinese laborers	Railroad sections, grades, bridges, and cuts	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Historic alignments in Box Elder and Weber Counties
	Resources associated with domestic life	Section camps, residential buildings and structures, cooking shacks/common buildings and areas, dugouts, box cars, construction camp sites	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Stations and section camps in Box Elder and Weber Counties, temporary camps along all rail lines
	Railroad towns	Businesses, residences, gardens	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Corinne, Willard, Grouse Creek, Lucin, Terrace, Kelton, Promontory (Box Elder) West Warren (Weber) Burmester (Tooele) Croydon, Peterson (Morgan)
Resources associated with mining	Extraction and processing	Mine workings, mills, smelters	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Salt Lake County sites?
	Transportation	Railroad spurs, access roads	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Early mining towns and sites in western Utah
	Commerce	Restaurants, groceries, mercantile stores, laundries, etc.	See Table E2 in Appendix E	All mining towns and camp sites (restaurants, laundries, mercantile stores) like Silver Reef, Eureka, Mammoth, Mercur, Frisco, Star Alta (Sam Gee laundry site)
	Domestic life and work	Camps, boardinghouses (Chinese cooks)	See Table E2 in Appendix E	Boardinghouses or sites at Summit and Wasatch County mine sites
Resources associated with Chinatowns and urban life	Domestic resources	Tenements, boardinghouses, single room occupancy hotels, private residences, shophouses	None	Chinatown archaeological sites: Plum Alley/Commercial St., Corinne, Silver Reef, Park City, Ogden Chinatown architectural remnants: Lower 25th Street Historic District (Ogden), Corinne Private homes: 41 West 100 South (Chy family, now a parking lot), 920 East 300 South (King family, demolished?), 905 East 300 South (Lowe house, bungalow adjacent to St. Paul's Church?), Salt Lake City; Charlie Kidd house in Eureka; Charlie Chuong house at 339 Park Ave., Park City Homes/businesses of community leaders: Sam Lee, Chin Quan Chan, Dave Hing (SLC) (as yet unidentified) Extant buildings in 5th and 2nd Wards (Salt Lake City) Extant buildings in 1st and 2nd Wards (Ogden) Extant buildings in Park City (see footnote 12)

Table 23. Property Types Associated with Chinese Heritage in Utah, including Known and Potential Properties

Associated Property Types	Associated Subtypes	Examples	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in File Search	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in Literature Review*
	Commerce	Laundries, restaurants, groceries, mercantile stores, novelty stores, cigar makers, shophouses, etc.	None	Laundries/businesses in SLC and Ogden (see Appendix C) King novelty/dry goods store (Salt Lake City) Wong Sing store/house (Fort Duchesne) Senate Café Joe Grover properties (Park City) Extant buildings in 5th and 2nd Wards (Salt Lake City) Extant buildings in 1st and 2nd Wards (Ogden)
	Social and religious	Buildings associated with Tongs, temples/places of worship ("joss houses"), cemeteries	None	Bing Kong Tong, Hoo Sing Tong buildings?
	Health care	Public hospitals, homes/offices of Chinese herbalists/traditional medicine practitioners	None	Sam and Maile Wing house on Main St. (Mercur) Sam Wing herbal medicine store building? (Salt Lake City) Utah State Mental Hospital (Provo)
	Education	Schools, universities	None	Schools attended by SLC/Ogden Chinese-American children (Oquirrh School?) University buildings or residences important to Chinese/Taiwanese students
Resources associated with agriculture	Urban	Market garden sites and associated buildings (dwellings, cabins, outbuildings)	None	See Appendix D for Salt Lake City list Conduct similar Sanborn research for Ogden?
	Semi-urban and rural	Gardens and farm sites, with associated buildings; ranching (boardinghouses and cooking facilities)	None	SLC Farmer Precinct (numerous individual sites) SLC Precinct 2 (@2700 S. 200 W.): families at 2219 S. 400 E.(now a warehouse?), 2509 S. 200 W. (near I-80 interchange) Ogden Wards 3, 4, 5 Eastman Ranch boardinghouse? (Rich County)

*The survival of many of these properties has not yet been confirmed. Even if the surface manifestations are lost, some subsurface evidence may remain and properties may be eligible under Criterion D as archaeological sites.

4.2. Properties Associated with Japanese Heritage

The Japanese had a significant presence in Utah between the late 1880s and 1970. The multiple property listing name, associated historic contexts, and associated property types and subtypes for Japanese heritage in Utah are presented below, along with a summary of known and potentially eligible properties identified in the file search and the literature review. As with the built heritage of the Chinese, many of these properties have disappeared, including the Japan Towns of Salt Lake City and Ogden, Bingham and its adjacent communities, agricultural properties and land holdings in northern Utah, and some of the mining communities in Carbon County. Fortunately, because many Japanese-Americans in Utah descend from the early families, the community retains a rich knowledge of the remaining buildings and sites associated with its heritage, which will be invaluable in identifying additional properties.

Multiple Property Listing Name
Architectural and Archaeological Resources Associated with Japanese Heritage in Utah

Associated Historic Contexts
Early Immigration, 1884–1900
Establishment of Communities, 1901–1913
Agriculture and Diversification, 1914–1930
The Great Depression and a Contracting Population, 1931–1941
World War II and the Relocation Era, 1942–1946
The Post–World War II Era, 1947–1970

Table 24. Property Types Associated with Japanese Heritage in Utah, including Known and Potential Properties

Associated Property Types	Associated Subtypes	Examples	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in File Search	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in Literature Review
Resources associated with railroads	Railroad alignments and features associated with Japanese laborers	Railroad sections and grades; bridges and cuts; depots	See Table E2 in Appendix	Historic alignments in Carbon, Emery, and Grand Counties Rail sections associated with Enumeration District 216
	Resources associated domestic life	Section camps, residential buildings and structures, cooking shacks/common buildings and areas, construction camp sites	See Table E2 in Appendix	Stations and section camps in Carbon, Emery, and Grand Counties, temporary camps Sites associated with Enumeration District 216 Lucin (Box Elder) Farmington, Centerville (Davis) Grantsville (Tooele) Soldier Summit (Wasatch)
	Railroad towns	Businesses, residences, gardens	See Table E2 in Appendix	Castle Rock, Echo (Summit) Helper (Carbon) Peterson, Morgan (Morgan) Garfield (Salt Lake)
Resources associated with mining and industry	Extraction and processing	Mine workings, mills, smelters, cement plant	See Table E2 in Appendix	Salt Lake County smelter and mill sites (Garfield, Lakeside, Magna, Murray) Devil's Slide (Morgan)
	Transportation	Railroad spurs, access roads	See Table E2 in Appendix	Carbon County mine sites Salt Lake County mine and smelter sites (Garfield) Star (Beaver) Mammoth, Eureka (Juab)
	Commerce	Restaurants, groceries, hotels, mercantile stores, social spaces, etc.	See Table E2 in Appendix	All mining towns and camp sites (restaurants, laundries, mercantile stores)
	Domestic life and work	Camps, boardinghouses, company towns	See Table E2 in Appendix	Boardinghouses or sites at Carbon County mines Mohrland company town Sunnyside and Latuda boardinghouses

Table 24. Property Types Associated with Japanese Heritage in Utah, including Known and Potential Properties

Associated Property Types	Associated Subtypes	Examples	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in File Search	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in Literature Review
Resources associated with Japan Towns and urban life	Domestic resources	Tenements, boardinghouses, hotels, multi-family homes, private residences	E.D. Hashimoto house Multiple historic districts	Japan Town (Nihonmachi) archaeological sites in Salt Lake City and Ogden Remnants of "Little Tokyos" in smaller towns Extant Japan Town architecture in Salt Lake City and Ogden Private homes: Harry Ishinin home (Ogden, now a park), Henry Kasai home (Salt Lake), Kusakie Kasuya home (Cache)?
	Commerce	Laundries, restaurants, groceries, hotels, mercantile stores, insurance, nurseries, florists, light industry, etc.	Laundries, multiple historic districts (see Appendix F)	Japan Town (Nihonmachi) archaeological sites in Salt Lake City and Ogden Remnants of "Little Tokyos" in smaller towns Laundries/dry cleaners (see footnote 13) *Utah Nippo* offices *Rocky Mountain Times* offices Extant buildings in Salt Lake City (see footnote 14) Extant buildings in Ogden (see footnote 14)
	Religious	Churches, cemeteries	Japanese Church of Christ (Salt Lake City) Ogden Japanese Union Church	Syracuse Buddhist Church Honeyville Buddhist Church Corinne Buddhist Church Carbon County churches? Salt Lake Nichiren Buddhist Church Ogden Buddhist Church
	Political and social	Political organizations, social halls, pool halls, baseball fields	None	JACL offices?
	Health care	Public hospitals, homes/offices of Chinese herbalists/traditional medicine practitioners	None	St. Mark's Hospital (demolished) Utah State Mental Hospital (Provo)
	Education	Schools, universities, homes/offices/works of leading educators	None	Schools attended by SLC/Ogden Japanese-American children (Fremont School, Oquirrh School?) Japanese language and culture schools (Fremont School) University buildings or residences important to Japanese students and educators Homes/places of work of important educators: Edward Ichiro Hashimoto, Carl Inoway,(Nisei architect)
	Designed landscapes and commemorative sites	Gardens, monuments	Monument to Japanese Pilot	Japanese Peace Garden at International Peace Gardens, Salt Lake City

Table 24. Property Types Associated with Japanese Heritage in Utah, including Known and Potential Properties

Associated Property Types	Associated Subtypes	Examples	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in File Search	Potentially Eligible Properties Identified in Literature Review
Resources associated with agriculture	Urban agricultural sites	Market garden sites and associated buildings (dwellings, cabins, outbuildings)	None	Unclear if practiced by the Japanese
	Semi-urban and rural agricultural sites	Gardens, farms, orchards, and nurseries with associated buildings; irrigation	None	Individual farms or districts in Box Elder, Cache, Weber, Davis, Salt Lake, and Sanpete Counties John Barnes property, Syracuse (Davis) People/properties associated with successful varietals Pine Valley Canal (Washington)
	Industrial sites	Labor camps, factories, processing plants	Elsinore Sugar Factory? Gunnison Sugar Beet Factory?	Lewiston (Cache) Clearfield Canning Company (Davis) Utah-Idaho Sugar Beet Co. Layton Sugar Beet Factory (Davis) Ono Labor Camp (Davis)
Military and defense	Relocation and evacuation sites	Relocation camps and evacuee communities, relocated buildings	Central Utah Relocation Center Dalton Wells CCC Camp/Moab Relocation Center Relocated buildings (Sanpete, Millard)	Keetley (inundated) Others? Work locations and work products of Topaz internees?
	Political			Homes or offices of significant individuals: Mike Masaoka, Sen. Elbert D. Thomas JACL offices
	Education, health and welfare		Kearns-St. Ann's Orphanage[20]	Academic buildings at University of Utah and Brigham Young University associated with Japanese American Student Relocation Program Bushnell General Military Hospital (treated Nisei servicemen)

*The survival of many of these properties has not yet been confirmed. Even if the surface manifestations are lost, some subsurface evidence may remain and properties may be eligible under Criterion D as archaeological sites.

[20] In a panel discussion on "Life and Art at the Topaz Internment Camp," Ted Nagata recounted that a number of Japanese children were placed in St. Ann's Orphanage after the Topaz camp was closed because their families were unable to care for them (held at Salt Lake City Public Library, April 16, 2015).

4.3. Properties Associated with Korean Heritage

Historic resources associated with Korean heritage will be difficult to pinpoint due to the low numbers of Koreans in the state and their frequent commingling and confusion with other Asian groups, especially prior to World War II. Not enough is known yet about Koreans in post–World War II Utah to identify additional property types or examples. If identified, any individual resources associated with Korean heritage could be listed individually. Because Koreans were often living and working with the Japanese, nominations for such resources under the Japanese MPDF should include research and a discussion of associated Korean history and heritage. In summary, no properties associated with Korean heritage were identified in the file search, and the literature review identified only a few potential resources:

- "Korean Camp" at Precinct 10 smelter (Copperfield), most likely demolished
- Railroad camp or other residence at 509 West 100 South, Salt Lake City (now a vacant lot, potential archaeological site?)
- West Railroad Yard Bunkhouse, Ogden (demolished? Incorporate into larger site nomination?)
- Coal and copper mines and camps throughout Utah, usually in association with Japanese communities, particularly Spring Canyon (Carbon County)
- Agricultural properties, including those of families in Sunset precinct and Elwood (Box Elder County)
- University buildings and residences of the 1960s, including locations of student associations

4.4. Properties Associated with Filipino Heritage

Filipinos have had only a minor historic presence in the state, but their experiences were significantly different from those of the Japanese, Chinese, and Koreans due to their country's long history as a Spanish colony, the military and territorial relationship between United States and the Philippine Islands, and the time period in which most emigrated—the 1920s. Unfortunately, no properties associated with Filipino heritage were identified in the file search, and the literature review identified only a few potential resources:

- "Korean Camp" at Precinct 10 smelter (some Filipinos listed there in census), most likely demolished
- Southern Pacific Railroad camp at West Warren (Weber)
- Private homes in Salt Lake City where Filipinos lived and worked as soldiers, servants, and/or students, including family homes at 1260 East 500 South, Haxton Place, Gilmer Drive, and Fort Douglas
- St. Mark's Hospital and dormitory (hospital demolished; is dormitory extant?)

4.5. Properties Associated with Thai Heritage

Thai people had a very limited presence in Utah before World War II, and their subsequent history in the state through 1970 is not well documented. No resources associated with Thai heritage were identified either in the file search or literature review, but potential resources may include academic residences, student associations, other buildings at colleges or universities, temples or places of worship, and restaurants.

4.6. Properties Associated with Pacific Islander Heritage

Hawaiians were the earliest and most numerous Pacific Islander immigrants to Utah. Prior to establishing the colony at Iosepa, many of the early arrivals settled in the Warm Springs area in northwest Salt Lake City, while others settled in the adjacent Marmalade District; the area is now part of the Capitol Hill Historic District (and Capitol Hill Extension). Associated properties are residential and may include those identified by Knight (2009):

- John Kaulainamoku property, a large lot on corner of Reed Avenue and 300 West, where Kaulainamoku built a house at 752 North 300 West (demolished, now the site of the Reed Avenue townhomes)
- Solomona Umi house (perhaps, source unclear) at 353 West 700 North (now 800 North)
- Location of Solomona Umi business between 200 West and 300 West 700 North (now 800 North)
- Umi/Makaula house at 240 West Fern Avenue
- Salamona Nui Kapiipiigm house at 222 Fern Avenue
- A.H. Kapukini house at 226 Fern Avenue
- Peter Kelakaihanau house at 248 Fern Avenue

Very few Pacific Islanders remained in the state after Iosepa was abandoned in 1917, but census records from 1930 identified a few Hawaiians and Samoans still living in Utah. Associated properties are also residential and include the following:

- Residence of the Hoobiiaina family (Hawaiian and Samoan), living at 1657 Beck Street in Salt Lake City (house possibly extant)
- Residence of the Roy Purcell family (Hawaiian), living at 13 Main Street in Mammoth
- Residence of the Christensen-Kenison family (American and Samoan), living at 165 Beryl Street in 1930 (Beryl Avenue in South Salt Lake? House possibly extant)

Aside from the settlement at Iosepa, no properties were identified that were associated with Tahitian, Fijian, or Maori people living in Utah prior to World War II. Almost no Tongans lived in the state before the war, and no associated properties were identified. Pacific Islander history in Utah between about 1950 and 1970 is not well documented, but we know that immigration increased after World War II, particularly from Samoa and Tonga, and people settled together in communities within the Salt Lake City neighborhoods of Glendale, Poplar Grove, Fairpark, Rose Park (around Indiana Avenue), the Avenues, Sugar House, and West Valley City. Further research is required to understand the patterns of life and work in in these places and to identify important historic properties that will include residences, businesses, and educational, religious, and social properties.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The buildings and sites important to Asian and Pacific Islander heritage in Utah must be recognized because they can tell us the stories of the people that made them and used them, remind us of the richness of our past, and help us weave together the many threads of our common heritage. Much of the history, experience, and cultural contributions of Asians, Pacific Islanders, and their descendants in Utah is an understudied topic. This document is only a first step in beginning to recognize that heritage. To build on this work, SWCA recommends the following initiatives:

- Involve the communities in the following ways:
  - Prepare and distribute pamphlets describing the properties identified to date and asking for assistance in identifying additional significant properties.
  - Conduct public meetings.
  - Conduct oral interviews of individuals and families, and train community members to conduct oral histories as well by preparing a basic set of questions as a starting point. Transcribe interviews and distribute copies to family members.
  - Identify significant individuals and associated properties.
  - Ask the community to identify the top five properties or property types that are significant to it.
- Continue research as follows:
  - Focus on the period between the end of World War II and 1970, identifying new immigrants as well as changes in the occupations and locations of descendant Asian and Pacific Islander families and communities.
  - Contrast demographic and ethnographic data from Utah with that of the west in general and especially the Pacific Coast.
  - Foster research from within Utah's Asian and Pacific Islander communities by creating a scholarship or internships for students to pursue research on their own communities.
- Identify, record, and evaluate Asian and Pacific Islander historic properties for listing on the NRHP
  - Add Asian and Pacific Islander categories to site forms used to record archaeological sites. and architectural resources in Utah; provide electronic access to this historic context and list of property types.
  - Encourage archaeologists, historians, and descendant community members to identify, document, and list all types of properties eligible for the NRHP
- Provide public benefits as follows:
  - Create a website (or a webpage and links on the UDSH website) that incorporates the research results documenting the rich history of Asian and Pacific Islander contributions to Utah history.
  - With input from the communities, create modules for inclusion in the state's 4th grade "Utah Studies" curriculum.

6. REFERENCES CITED

Aikau, Hokulani K.

2010 Indigeneity in the Diaspora: the Case of Native Hawaiians at Iosepa, Utah. *American Quarterly* 62(3):477–500.

Alder, D. D., and K. F. Brooks

1996 *A History of Washington County: From Isolation to Destination*. Utah Centennial County History Series. Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Amerman, Stephen Kent

1996 Newcomers To The Urban West: Navajos and Samoans in Salt Lake City, Utah 1945-95, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, Utah State University, Logan, Utah.

Ancestry

2015a 1870 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2009. Images reproduced by FamilySearch. Original data: 1870 U.S. Census, population schedules. NARA microfilm publication M593, 1,761 rolls. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, n.d. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7163. Accessed August 11, 2015.

2015b 1900 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2004. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 1854 rolls. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7602. Accessed August 15 and 17, 2015.

2015c 1910 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2006. Original data: *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=7884. Accessed August 20 and September 7, 2015.

2015d 1920 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010. Images reproduced by FamilySearch. Original data: *Fourteenth Census of the United States, 1920*. (NARA microfilm publication T625, 2076 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6061. Accessed September 19, 2015.

2015e 1930 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2002. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6224. Accessed August 17 and 20, 2015.

2015f 1940 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations, Inc., 2012. Original data: United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Sixteenth Census of the United States, 1940*. Washington, D.C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1940. T627, 4,643 rolls. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=2442. Accessed September 19, 2015.

Ancestry and The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints

2015 1880 United States Federal Census [database online]. Provo, Utah: Ancestry.com Operations Inc., 2010. Original data: Tenth Census of the United States, 1880. (NARA microfilm publication T9, 1,454 rolls). Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C. Available at: http://search.ancestry.com/search/db.aspx?dbid=6742. Accessed August 12 and 13, 2015.

Arrington, Leonard J.

1954 The L.D.S. Hawaiian Colony at Skull Valley. *The Improvement Era* 57:314–315, 365–367.

Atkin, Dennis H.

1958 A History of Iosepa, the Utah Polynesian Colony. Unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of History, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Beckwith, Jane

1996 Topaz. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 104–107. JA Centennial Committe, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Brown, Matthew

2012 A Centennial of Gathering and Worship: First Buddhist Temple in Utah Celebrates 100th Birthday. *Deseret News.* Sept. 24, 2012.

Brownstone, David M.

1988 *The Chinese American Heritage.* America's Ethnic Heritage Series. Facts on File, New York, New York.

Carter, Kate B.

1967 The Early Chinese of Western United States. In *Our Pioneer Heritage*, pp. 429–496. Vol. 10. Daughters of Utah Pioneers, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Cheng, Eric Yuan-Chin

1999 Chinese. In *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*, edited by John H. Yang, pp. 49–80. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Collinwood, Dean W., Ryoichi Yamamoto, and Kazue Haag

1996 Contact! The First Japanese in Utah. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 1–3. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Conley, Don C.

2001 The Pioneer Chinese of Utah. In *Chinese on the American Frontier*, edited by A. Dirlik, pp. 291–306. Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., Lanham, Maryland.

2015 The Pioneer Chinese of Utah. Available at: http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_peoples_of_utah/thepioneerchineseofutah.html. Accessed October 12, 2015.

Corpus Juris

2014 Tydings-McDuffie Act. Available at: http://www.thecorpusjuris.com/laws/constitutions/item/tydings-mcduffie-act.html. Accessed August 19, 2015.

Davidson, Lee

2011 One of every four Tongans in U.S. calls Utah home. *Salt Lake Tribune* 12 September. Available at: http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/politics/52551592-90/california-family-hawaii-population.html.csp. Accessed May 11, 2015.

Deseret Evening News

1908 *Deseret Evening News*. 1 September. Salt Lake City.

Federal Judicial Center

2015 Chew Heong v. United States: Chinese Exclusion and the Federal Courts. Available at: http://www.fjc.gov/history/home.nsf/page/tu_exclusion_doc_1.html. Accessed May 1, 2015.

Foner, Eric, and John A. Garraty (editors)

1991 *The Reader's Companion to American History*. Houghton Mifflin Harcourt Publishing Company. Available at: http://www.history.com/topics/gentlemens-agreement. Acccessed October 19, 2015.

Francaviglia, Richard V.

2008 Over the Range: A History of the Promontory Summit Route of the Pacific Railroad. Utah State University Press, Logan, Utah.

Frazier, Adam M.

1997 The Geography of Polynesians in Utah, Unpublished M.S. thesis, Department of Geography, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

Hachiya, Rupert

1996 Cleaning and Tailoring Shops. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 115–117. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Hasegawa, Miki, and Tom Hori

1996 Salt Lake Area Businesses. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 186–189. JA Centenntial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

History

2015 Gentlemen's Agreement. Available at: http://www.history.com/topics/gentlemens-agreement. Accessed August 24, 2015.

Holt, Clayton J.

2015 History of Syracuse, Utah. Available at: http://www.onlineutah.com/syracuse_history.shtml. Accessed November 17, 2015.

Ichida, Shinji, Oscar Misaka, Tats Misaka, and Raymond Uno

1996 J-Town Ogden. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 36–39. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Jackson, Richard H., and Mark W. Jackson

2008 Iosepa: The Hawaiian Experience in Settling the Mormon West. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 76(4):316–337.

Johansen, Bruce E.

2015 Filipino Repatriation Act of 1935. Available at: http://immigrationtounitedstates.org/498-filipino-repatriation-act-of-1935.html. Accessed August 19, 2015.

Jones, Walter

2012 Chinese in Salt Lake City from the Late 1860s to the Early 1900s. Transcript of unpublished paper. Walter Jones personal collection, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2015 Research folders on Chinese in Utah. Walter Jones personal collection, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Kanai, Reverend Shokai, and Tomiye Ishimatus

1996 Salt Lake Nichiren Buddhist Temple. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 190–191. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Kasai, Alice

1975 *The Japanese in Utah (Their history, cultural values, and problems)*. Ethnic Minorities Seminar Series. The Community Services Council.

1996 Japanese Peace Garden. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 84–86. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

1999 Japanese. In *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*, edited by John H. Yang, pp. 125-139. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Kester, Matthew

2009 Race, Religion, and Citizenship in Mormon Country: Native Hawaiians in Salt Lake City, 1869-1889. *The Western Historical Quarterly* 40(1):51–76.

Kimball, Gary

2013 Life Under China Bridge and Other Storeis of Minorities in Old Park City.Tramway Books, Park City, Utah.

Kirk, Andrew Taylor

2007 Radical Labor, Racism, and the Preservation of Hegemony in Ogden, Territorial Utah, 1885-1886. *American Journalism* 24(4):149–173.

Knight, Nelson

2009 This Old House: Solomona & Raanaana Umi Property, J.W. Whitecar House, 240 W. Fern Avenue. *The Bulletin* 102:1–3.

Konishi, Jeanne, Jan Nelson, and Ted Nagata

1996 Pine Valley Canal. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, p. 96. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Lansing, Michael

2004 Race, Space, and Chinese Life in Late-Nineteenth-Century Salt Lake City. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 72(3):219–238.

Lee, Chung-Myun

1999 Korean. In *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*, edited by J. H. Yang, pp. 145–181. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Lee, Erika

2002 The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882–1924. *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21(3):36–62.

Liestman, Daniel

1996 Utah's Chinatowns: The Development and Deciline of Extinct Ethnic Enclaves. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 64(1):70-95.

Long, John H. (editor)

2008 *Utah: Consolidated Chronology of State and County Boundaries* (Newberry Library 2008). Available at: http://publications.newberry.org/ahcbp/documents/UT_Consolidated_Chronology.htm#Consolidated_Chronology. Accessed November 8, 2015.

MacDonald, John S., and Leatrice D. MacDonald

1964 *Chain Migration, Ethnic Neighborhood Formation and Social Networks. Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly (42):82–97.*

Mattingley, Aida S.

1999 Filipino. In *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*, edited by J. H. Yang, pp. 83–101. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Merritt, Christopher W., Gary Weisz, and Kelly J. Dixon

2012 Verily the Road was Built with Chinaman's Bones": An Archaeology of Chinese Line Camps in Montana. *International Journal of Historical Archaeology* 16:666–695.

Moriyasu, Haruko Terasawa

1996 Salt Lake's Nihonjin Machi. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 29–35. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Nagata, Ted (editor)

1996 *Japanese Americans in Utah.* JA Centennnial Committee, Salt Lake City.

National Register of Historic Places (NRHP)

1994 Registration Form for Dalton Wells CCC Camp/Moab Relocation Center. National Park Service, Washington, D.C.

Naulu, Sosaia Hakaumoto

1990 Incidental Effects of Church Activity on Development, Landscapes and Culture: An Example from Tonga. M.S. thesis, Department of Geography, Brigham Young University, Provo.

Notarianni, Philip F.

1979 Utah's Ellis Island: The Difficult "Americanization" of Carbon County. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 47(2):178–193.

Oliver, Anne

2015 Making a Place in the Beehive State: Asian and Asian-American Heritage Sites in Utah, 1865-1940. Paper presented in a panel titled "Under-Documented Communities in Utah: Iosepa & Chinese Railroad Workers," at the Utah State History Conference, October 2, 2015.

Panek, Tracey E.

1992 Life at Iosepa, Utah's Polynesian Colony. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 60(1):64–77.

Papanikolas, Helen Z., and Alice Kasai

1996 Japanese Life in Utah. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 4-19. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

2015 Japanese Life in Utah. Available at: http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_peoples_of_utah/japaneselifeinutah.html, accessed April 29, 2015.

Public Broadcasting System

2000 The Luce-Celler Act of 1946. Available at: http://www.pbs.org/rootsinthesand/a_lucecellar.html. Accessed August 19, 2015.

Raymond, Anan S., and Richard E. Fike

1994 Rails East to Promontory: The Utah Stations. *Cultural Resources Series* No. 8. Bureau of Land Management, Utah.

Reynolds, Thursey Jessen

1948 *Centennial Echoes from Carbon County*. Daughters of Utah Pioneers of Carbon County, Utah.

Sanborn, D. A.

1898 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for Salt Lake City, Utah. Available at: http://content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/search/collection/sanborn-jp2/searchterm/Salt%20Lake%20City/field/title/mode/all/conn/and/cosuppress/. Accessed November 2, 2015.

1911 Sanborn Fire Insurance maps for Salt Lake City, Utah. Available at: content.lib.utah.edu/cdm/singleitem/collection/sanborn-jp2/id/952/rec/327. Accessed November 8, 2015.

Semerad, Tony

2013 From the islands to the highlands: polynesians are thriving in Utah. *Salt Lake Tribune* 1 February. Salt Lake City. Available at: http://www.sltrib.com/sltrib/tribpreps/55702182-190/pacific-utah-family-islander.html.csp. Accessed August 20, 2015.

Smith, John S. H.

1976 Japanese Farmers in Utah. *Beehive History* 2:22–23.

South Asian American Digital Archive

2014 Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965. Available at: https://www.saada.org/item/20140421-3552. Accessed August 19, 2015.

St. Mark's Hospital

2015 Full Hospital History. Available at: http://stmarkshospital.com/about/history/full-hospital-history.dot. Accessed October 29, 2015.

Suddiphayak, Suri Traibootr

1999 Thai. In *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*, edited by J. H. Yang, pp. 193–201. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Tamura, Kaz, and Marion Hori

1996 Farming in Davis County. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 76–78. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Taylor, Sandra C.

1986 Japanese Americans and Keetley Farms: Utah's Relocation Colony. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 54(4):328–344.

1991 Interned at Topaz: Age, Gender, and Family in the Relocation Experience. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 59(4):380–394.

Uchida, Yoshiko

1980 Topaz, City of Dust. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 48(3):234–243.

United Nations

1947 United States of America and Philippines: Treaty of general realtions and Protocol. *Treaty Series* 7:3-15. Available at: https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/UNTS/Volume%207/v7.pdf. Accessed August 21, 2015.

Urbani, Diane

2003 Maori roots deepen in Utah. *Deseret News* 27 June. Salt Lake City. Available at: http://www.deseretnews.com/article/992785/Maori-roots-deepen-in-Utah.html?pg=all. Accessed August 20, 2015.

U.S. Department of State, Office of the Historian

2015a Chinese Immigration and the Chinese Exclusion Acts. Available at: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1866-1898/chinese-immigration. Accessed May 1, 2015.

2015b Repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act, 1943. Available at: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1937-1945/chinese-exclusion-act-repeal. Accessed May 1, 2015.

2015c The Immigration Act of 1924 (The Johnson-Reed Act). Available at: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1921-1936/immigration-act. Accessed May 1, 2015.

2015d The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (The McCarran-Walter Act). Available at: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/immigration-act. Accessed October 19, 2015.

2015e The Korean War, 1950-1953. Available at: https://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/korean-war-2. Accessed October 20, 2015.

Ushio, Shake

1996 Early Farming. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 79–81. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Voss, Barbara L. and Rebecca Allen

2008 Overseas Chinese Arcaheology: Historical Foundations, Current Reflections, and New Directions. *Historical Archaeology* 42(3):5–28.

Walrond, Carl

2012 Maori overseas - England, the United States and elsewhere. Te Ara--the Encyclopedia of New Zealand. Available at: http://www.teara.govt.nz/en/maori-overseas/page-5. Updated September 22, 2012.

Wasatch Front Japanese American Citizens League (JACL)

1996 Ogden Area Businesses. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 185–186. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Welker, R. Todd

2002 Utah Schools and the Japanese American Student Relocation Program. *Utah Historical Quarterly* 70(1):4–20.

Wright, Ted, and Maxine Wright

1996 Devil's Slide. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 25–28. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Wurtzburg, Susan J. and Fahina Tavake-Pasi

2008 The "Tongan Journeys" Oral History Collection, 2006-2008, Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

Yale Law School

2008 Chinese Exclusion Act; May 6, 1882. Available at: http://avalon.law.yale.edu/19th_century/chinese_exclusion_act.asp. Accessed August 18, 2015.

Yang, J. H. (editor)

1999 *Asian Americans in Utah: A Living History*. State of Utah Office of Asian Affairs, Asian American Advisory Council, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Yoshida, Toki

1996 Buddhist Church of Ogden. In *Japanese Americans in Utah*, edited by Ted Nagata, pp. 90–92. JA Centennial Committee, Salt Lake City, Utah.

Zawrotny, Rob

2002 Iosepa: The Desert Rose: the Story of the Early Latter-day Saint Polynesian Immigrants. *Eagle's Eye* 33(3):28–31.